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Papers presented at the conference on applied linguistics include the following: "Speaking of Grammars: Is Big Beautiful?" (Jan Svartvik); "A Sociosemiotic View of the Grasp of Language at Reality: The Lexical Field 'Aesthetic Judgment'" (Wolfgang Kuhlwein); "Language as a Target and Instrument of the Educational Process in a Multilingual Setting" (Olga Miseska Tomic); "An Aspect of Social Interaction in Communication: Politeness Strategies and Contrastive Foreign-Language Teaching" (Tatiana Slama-Cazacu); "Investigating the Complexities of Communication in a Second Language" (Tahereh Paribakht); "Applying the Concept of Working Memory to Foreign Language Listening Comprehension" (Elisabet Service); "Thinking as a Component of Language Understanding" (Leena I. Laurinen); "General Model of Written Discourse as a Basis of a Study of Writing" (Anneli Vahapassi); "Summarization: Integrating Reading and Writing" (Liisa Havola); "The Nordwrite Project" (Lars Sigfred Evensen); "Meaning and Diversity" (Jonna Cederquist); "Invalid Talk: Reduction of Personality in the Evaluation of Foreign Language Speaking Skills" (David Marsh); "Emotional Hindrances in the FL Learning Situation: The Weak Self Concept" (Eero J. Laine); "Language in Preschool Education in a Functional Perspective" (Liv Vedeler, Hans Vejieskov); "Some Aspects of Classroom Interaction" (Sten Sjorslev); "Verbal Communication in the Classroom" (Marc Spoelders); "Texts in Study Books for Foreign Language Learners" (Dagmar Neuendorff); "Is Equality and Independent Thinking Possible in an Oral Test?" (Mary Kilborn); and "Testing Pronunciation" ((Jan van Weeren). (MSE)

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EQUALITY IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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edited by

Kari Sajavaara

Jyväskylä 1987

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PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of papers read at the 5th Nordic Conference of Applied Linguistics, which was organised by the Finnish Association of Applied Linguistics and the University of Jyvaskyla on June 4-7, 1987. Not all papers presented at the conference were offered for publication.

Papers were invited by the organizers on various aspects of the problems of equality in language learning, particularly in the school setting. A fair number of the papers relate to this problem, at least indirectly. Many of the papers offered did not touch upon the major theme of the conference, however. The organizers decided to accept them.

A grant from the Ministry of Education made the conference possible.

Our thanks are also due to Ms Maritta Kulmala, who typed all the papers in this volume.

Jyvaskyla
September, 1987

K.S.

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SPEAKING OF GRAMMARS: IS BIG BEAUTIFUL?

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ABSTRACT

Some reviewers of A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language have chosen to comment on two aspects of the book: its size and potential readers. In this paper these two issues are discussed in relation to dictionaries and the different needs for information about the grammatical structure of English, in particular the needs of the foreign learner. Speaking of grammars, big is not always beautiful; nor are even big grammars adequate when it comes to accounting for the native speaker's grammatical repertoire.

It is now just over a year since the publication of our Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (Quirk et al. 1985). The reviews I have seen have so far appeared mainly in the daily and weekly press. Two features about this publication have tended to be singled out for comment by the reviewers: one is the size of the book, the other its market, ie. its potential readers and usefulness.

The amazement at the size of the book is a recurrent feature. It started with the appearance of our first grammar in the early seventies, A Grammar of Contemporary English (GCE). At the outset of this undertaking we had in mind a smaller volume, a kind of 'Survey Zandvoort'. So had the publishers, obviously. As the manuscripts landed on the editor's desk, each successive version tending to get bigger and bigger as the book was taking shape, she chose to refer to it as "the pregnant brick". When delivered in 1972 it numbered 1120 pages.

The second big grammar, which was originally meant to be an updated and revised edition of the first, and about a third longer, proved to be almost twice the length, 1779 pages in a larger page size. Since it also turned out that we felt the plan of GCE to be a strait-jacket in view of the major changes we wanted to introduce, the new book also got a new name, A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language, or CGEL for short, but commonly referred to with a more user-friendly abbreviation: The Comprehensive.

In his review for Times Literary Supplement, John Sinclair estimated the weight of The Comprehensive at about 5 pounds, whereas "GCE weighs in at a mere 3 pounds". And he concludes: "if you want to hit anybody with a book, this is it". To be honest: the publishers also make a point about size in saying on the publicity blurb: "the largest, most definitive grammar of English ever written".

Of course, size is highly relevant in that there is a practical need for a comprehensive description of English, today the most important international language with some 300 million native speakers and some 400 nonnative speakers - and hundreds of millions more who want to learn it. Then interest in English seems to be increasing at an enormous rate. This was vividly brought home to me in 1985 when I spent a five-week period in the Far East, most of the time lecturing in Shanghai. At just one of the 20 universities in that one city, the English Department with a staff total of 246 had 10,000 students enrolled; in the whole of China there are 50 million students of English. When I asked a staff member why English was considered s important that all science students should have to take it, the reply was: "If you want to be on top in science, you have to know English". Needless to say, this intensive international interest in English requires solid information about the structure and use of all aspects of the language, including its grammar. Whereas it is difficult to find - and perhaps indeed to justify - among native speakers of the language a parallel urge to study grammar, foreign learners tend to accept this onerous task, if not with enthusiasm, at least with a sense of understanding for its importance to anyone who wants to master a foreign language.

Among questions that are commonly asked about grammar we find the following two: "Does a grammar of English have to be so big" and "If a description of English grammar requires so much space, how is it possible for the ordinary native speaker, let alone the foreign student, to internalize all this information?" The popular view is that a language is mainly made up of words, and most people are aware of all the new words that keep entering their language as a result of the introduction of new techniques, the streamlining of computer jargon, the spread of various pop cultures, and the like. Furthermore, in the common practice of lexicographers, words rarely drop out of dictionaries but have plenty of sisu and tend be long-lived, following the maxim: "Once a word, always a word". As a consequence of this, the word-stock of the language gets bigger and bigger. This is a fact that is accepted by the public at large who indeed understand the lifelong need for the learning of new words - hence the notion that a language is made up of words.

But does the grammar, too, have to get bigger all the time? There are of course voluminous grammars other than _The Comprehensive_ but most of them, like Jespersen's _Modern English Grammar_, include a historical dimension lacking in our book, which can be said to account, by and large, for the grammatical repertoire of today's educated native speaker. Of course, the word "repertoire" includes neither competence in grammatical analysis and terminology ("putative _should_", "zero plural", "discourse reference", etc.), nor familiarity with all listed items (eg. _desideratum/desiderata_), nor indeed acceptance of all statements concerning stylistic value or level of acceptability such as the queried acceptability of _?the(ir) arrival for a month_ but the unacceptability of _*the(ir) action in a nasty manner_. The chief reason why _The Comprehensive_ is bigger than _GCE_ is not that the language has changed or grown in the interim 14 years but that we have more to say about the structure of English, mainly as a result of the intensive international research work that this language is being subjected to. Educated native speakers have a competence in the use of the language at least approaching the collection of descriptive statements made in _The Comprehensive_, whereas they do not, and indeed would not themselves claim, to have anything like the competence to be found in the collection of entries with meaning definitions of a dictionary of comparable size such as _Webster's Third New International Dictionary_ (2662 pages), _The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language_ (1550 pages), or _Longman New Universal Dictionary_ (1158 pages).

At a conference like this which is devoted to Applied Linguistics it will be appropriate to ask the question - even if we cannot provide an answer to it: "How is it possible, if we are to believe our authorities, for a native five-year-old who can neither read nor write to have internalized the basic grammar of Enigish?" And can a nonnative learner ever hope to approach this kind of native competence which comes to almost 1800 pages in print? But before tackling the foreign learner's problems, let's just consider to what extent even a grammar that claims to be "comprehensive" adequately accounts for the native speaker's repertoire.

I believe we have to admit that, in some respects, even a big grammar like _The Comprehensive_ can only be said to scratch the surface as a representation of the knowledge of a native speaker. For an illustration of this inadequacy we may choose the categorization of the word-stock of the language into word-classes. In The Comprehensive there are two classes: closed and open. The closed class includes prepositions, pronouns, determiners, conjunctions, modal verbs, and primary verbs; the open class includes nouns, adjectives, full verbs, and adverbs; in addition we list two lesser categories: numerals and interjections. Within most of these major word classes, subdivisions are made in the book, such that, for example, the most important noun classes (see section 5.3) are "common" (toy) and "proper" (John) and "common" further subclassified into "count" and "noncount", both of which may be either "concrete" or "abstract" (pig/pigs, difficulty/difficulties; butter, music). However, this division is far too rough and ready, too "indelicate", for many purposes. In addition to these noun classes, further subclassification is therefore made in various places in the description, for example:

animate/inanimate:
    The girl (*door) said...

material:
    that concrete floor, That floor is concrete (7.14)

measure:
    several gallons of water (5.8)

evaluative:
    My back is aching, darling (*computer) (10.53)

eventive:
    The meeting (*boat) will be tomorrow (8.76)

general:
    The latest (thing) is that he is going to run for re-elction (7.26)

gradable:
    He is clearly a dangerous man (8.101)

variable/invariable:
    dog, dogs; gold (5.74)

locative:
    the world's economy (5.118)

modal:
    Anna's willingness to do (*of doing) the job (17.36)

pejorative:
    a clever liar ≠ That liar is clever (7.36)

quantitative:
    several million inhabitants (5.89)

temporal:
    a moment's thought

Yet, even the last subclass, "temporal nouns", is too coarse for a description of English usage, as can be seen in the matrix shown in Table 1 (from Crystal 1967:54) displaying the privileges of occurrence of different nouns appearing in prepositional phrases denoting time. Most of the uses in the figure will be familiar to a native speaker of English - perhaps not to a five-year-old but let's say to the educated adult speaker. The matrix shows that temporal nouns which, at a first glance, may seem similar (such as afternoon, night, winter, instant, nighttime) behave rather differently in prepositional phrase constructions, for example:

in that afternoon (*nighttime)
on an afternoon (*night)
in the winter (*instant)
at that instant (*night)

Although the chapter on prepositional phrases includes a large number of such expressions, it has to be admitted that The Comprehensive provides an inadequate description even for a fairly central grammatical category like time expressions. Grammars are particularly wanting in such information that does not readily lend itself to systematic statements: whereas the case system of a language like Finnish can be exhaustively stated in the morphology section of the grammar, we are less likely to find a correspondingly full account of the prepositional system in another language like English where similar relations are expressed by means of prepositions.

This is of course an area where there is overlap between grammar and lexis, and we would expect to find the required statements in the dictionary. However, even if there should be such a dictionary, and there probably will be in the future, the alphabetical organization of the dictionary can hardly replace the type of systematically organized and presented information that we shold find in the grammar. In a case like the one illustrated here, however, I know of no dictionary that will give the adequate information. In particular, the links between the grammar and the dictionary are too weak, so that it is not obvious how the search for such information should be coordinated. Incidentally, we can learn one more thing from Crystal's figure: the question marks, denoting uncertainty, personal variation in acceptability etc., should be taken seriously and thus be interpreted as legitimate fuzziness rather than incompetence in the native speaker. (It is a curious fact that we, as foreign teachers of English - and certainly our students - somehow expect English to be fully

Table 1. Nouns in prepositional phrases denoting time (from Crystal 1967: 54.

	in a N or two	in that N	in the $N_{sg.}$ (no postmodification) [65]	in a N (no postmodification) [65]	in $\emptyset$ $N_{pl.}$ (no postmodification) [65]	in $\emptyset$ $N_{sg.}$	$\emptyset$ $N_{pl.}$	on the $N_{sg.}$	on a $N_{sg.}$ (no postmodification) [65]	on $\emptyset$ $N_{pl.}$ (no postmodification) [65]	on $\emptyset$ $N_{sg.}$	at that N	at the $N_{sg.}$	at $\emptyset$ $N_{sg.}$
afternoon	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
evening	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	?+	?+	–	–	–	–
weekend	+	+	?+	+	–	–	+	+	?+	+	–	+	+	–
night	+	+	+	?+	–	–	?–	+	–	–[66]	–	–	–	+
morning	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–[66]	–	–	–	–
Monday...	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
January...	?+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
hour	+	+	+	+	?–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
minute	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
second	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
day	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–[66]	–	–	–	–
summer	?+	+	+	?–	?–	+	?+	–	–	–	–	–	–	?+
winter	?+	+	+	?–	?–	+	?+	–	–	–	–	–	–	?+
spring	?+	+	+	?–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?+
autumn	?+	+	+	?–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?+
month	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
week	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
year	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
decade	+	+	–	+	?+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
century	+	+	–	+	?–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
fortnight	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
instant	+	?+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
moment	+	?+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
lifetime	–	?+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
daytime	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
nighttime	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

---

[64] Excluding stylistically marked (e.g. humorous, nonce, poetic) uses.
[65] I.e., to exclude 'on a night like this', 'in the decade preceding the revolution', etc.
[66] Except in the restricted sense of 'morning-shifts', etc.

clear and rule-bound, while we could hardly claim this for our own native language, be it Swedish or Finnish.)

The second aspect mentioned by our reviewers concern potential uses of the grammar. The Times reviewer, Philip Howard, concludes by saying:

> It is a prodigious undertaking. It is just a bit difficult to see who it is for, other than other writers of English grammars. You would be ill-advised to try to learn English from it.

The point that grammarians write for each other is interesting, and probably true to the extent that an important and particularly valuable amount of feedback is provided by our fellow grammarians who write reviws in the professional journals and send us some "private communication" (as the footnote term goes). If the readers of our books were all grammarians there must be a lot of them out there, judging by the sales. Who are our potential readers, then? Well, The Comprehensive is certainly not a "teaching-grammar" in the usual sense that we employ the term in our schools and universities. It is a comprehensive reference grammar to be used by those who know enough about the structure of English to be able to make good use of it. This highlights one of the weaknesses of grammatical presentation. There is no one obvious, let alone ideal, method of presenting the grammar of English - or any other language, for that matter. If all of us here in this room were to write a grammar of English - Heaven forbid - there would probably be as many different grammars as there are people in my audience. If we were, each of us, to write a dictionary, there would be differences in the choice of words and some variation in the order of material within the entries, but I think we would, by and large, be able to use all the dictionaries and we would at least agree on the alphabetical order. In grammar there is no obvious order, let alone content, outside the standard statements on morphology - which there is not all that much to say something about in English anyway.

It is my guess that many foreign students buy the big grammar just because it is big, just as they will buy a big dictionary - to be on the safe side. Big is felt to be not only beautiful but good for you. I think that we, as applied linguists, have an important role to play in giving advice to teachers and students about the different needs here. Speaking of grammars, we need different sets of grammars: grammars adapted to the needs of beginners (although that information may not be presented in a proper grammar-book) and of secondary and advanced students; we need grammars for specific purposes, not so much because there are specific rules for such sublanguages but in order to create motivation by using the appropriate language illustrations; we need grammars for automatic analysis and parsing; we need contrastive grammars for foreign learners and we need usage grammars for native speakers. It was with the aim of satisfying some of the different needs that the "Survey team" split up into twosomes and produced grammars in addition to the big ones: *A University Grammar of English* and *A Communicative Grammar of English*. For accounts of some aspects of our work, see the separate papers (all forthcoming) by Greenbaum (on *The Comprehensive*), Crystal (on the Index of *The Comprehensive*), and Svartvik (on *A Communicative Grammar of English*).

In concluding, I would like to say that "an English grammar" is an abstract representation of one linguistic level of the language. In view of the different linguistic theories and potential uses, there is not, and cannot be, one generally accepted or acceptable mode of selecting content and form of presentation. A grammar of English that claims to be comprehensive has to be big since the grammatical structure of the language is complex and requires, at least with our current knowledge, a vast apparatus. Yet, even a "comprehensive grammar" cannot be said to account for the total linguistic repertoire of the native speaker; in particular, we find it difficult to grasp how a "naive" native speaker can internalize this amount of information. For language teaching it is important not only to have a range of grammatical descriptions to choose from but also to consider carefully the choice that is appropriate for a particular learner of English.

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A SOCIOSEMIOTIC VIEW OF THE GRASP OF LANGUAGE AT REALITY: THE LEXICAL FIELD 'AESTHETIC JUDGEMENT'

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The research aim is the elucidation of the lexical field 'Aesthetic Judgement' ('beauty' of human beings) in English and French. As opposed to a merely systemic linguistic or an exclusively psycholinguistic research method for cross-cultural studies, a sociosemiotic view is developed, which affects both perceptual strategies concerning the research objects, and the research method. It complies with a conception of linguistics which integrates what is often called 'applied' linguistics and theoretical linguistics on the basis of an encompassing normative philosophy of science.

1. Introduction: Object, Method, Aim

On the one hand, our object of research is old and well-known: a lexical field, a set of 'synonyms', the French and English terms for aesthetic judgement, for 'beauty'. For reasons of space we restrict our investigation to beauty as assigned to human beings.

On the other hand, the angle under which we look at our object of research is not a traditional one but rather a cross-language sociosemiotic view. What is that? It refers to the determining impact which sociosemiotic factors exert upon the ways in which different languages, different speech-communities, cope with reality respectively a part of reality, here 'beauty'.

Tracing the grasp of languages at reality down to sociosemiotic properties means going beyond the semantically defined referential axis word/thing when constituting our object of research. This shift will have to affect our research methodology correspondingly, to insure adequacy. We admit to adhere to a neo-Kantian philosophical position: it is one's point-of-view that determines what one can see, it is one's theoretical and methodological approach that determines what one's object of research reveals.

Here we shall refrain from going deeper into the question as to what extent different points of view respectively different research methods affect not only one's concept of reality ('Weltbild') but also reality itself (Kuhn 1976: 49ff.; 1977). Whether light presents itself as material, ie. as corpuscles, or whether it presents itself as immaterial, ie. as a wave, entirely depends on the respective theory and method of investigation applied. Another example, perhaps better known among linguists: whether language presents itself as *ergon* or as *energeia* depends on whether we apply structural-taxonomic or generative approaches to its investigation.

As a consequence, applying a sociosemiotic view to the analysis of a facet of the relationship between languages and reality will not merely be a decision of method but will in the first instance exert constitutive power on the object of research.

The sociosemiotic view will also determine the 'ultimate' research aims, the finalizations, to which the results of the investigation can be put.

2. 'Applied Linguistics', 'Theoretical Linguistics', and the Sociosemiotic View

2.1. Speaking of 'ultimate' research aims presupposes a grading/stageing of aims. What can be considered a legitimate research aim of language study depends on the kind of philosophy of science with which one is willing to side. Is it a *descriptive* one or a *normative* one? (As for the bearing of this distinction on lingustic research, cf. Kühlwein 1987a includes references to the basic philosophical literature.) The decision between descriptive and normative philosophy of science in turn determines one's basic understanding of language study as to the relationship between what is usually called theoretical linguistics (TL) and what has become to be called applied linguistics (AL). In Kühlwein 1987a (Chs. I and II) we discussed the major current conceptions of this relationship.

- There is the *paradigmatic* conception. Higher 'applied' linguistic institutions/departments are established next to the traditionally existing (theoretical) linguistic/philological ones for the purpose of complying with socially relevant desiderata like language education, translating and interpreting etc. Without bothering about philosophy of science the mere tangibility of the goal-orientedness of what is done in these institutions/centres is frequently taken for sufficent justification for the use of the label 'applied linguistics' - though they usually cover a little fraction of the large multi-faceted field of applied linguistics only.

This paradigmatic conception does not contribute towards elucidating the relationship between TL and AL.

- There is the *inclusive* conception. There is an increasing tendency within a fair number of (theoretical) linguistic departments/congresses towards including a wide range of applied linguistic fields/sections, in particular distinctly interdisciplinary ones, like psycho-, socio-, neurolinguistics.

All too frequently, however, this inclusive relationship turns out to be rather *formaliter* than *materialiter*. The encompassing framework is rarely thematized, nor are the manifold feedback relations between TL and AL.

- There is the *derivative* conception. It restricts TL to the activity of forming general linguistic theories and methods and would designate the applications of these general linguistic theories and methods to the analysis of specific languages as 'applied linguistics', eg. the description of the Spanish phonemic system ('AL') as derived from general phonemic theory ('TL').

This conception of the relationship between TL and AL nicely illustrates the problematicity of goal-orientedness as *the* constitutive criterion for AL (*vs*. TL). Of course, the analysis of the Spanish phoneme system constitutes a legitimate linguistic research goal - justified by strength of a descriptive philosophy of science. Nevertheless most linguists would hesitate calling this analysis 'applied'. Obviously AL reaches beyond such research aims which merely rest on the justificatory power of a descriptive philosophy of science. AL rather seems to base its research aims on the legitimizing power of a normative philosophy of science, which yields what we called 'ultimate' research aims above. As a consequence we refute the distinction which is often rashly drawn by applied linguists: AL = goal-oriented *vs*. TL = not goal-oriented. It is not a matter of goal-orientedness. *Both* AL and TL are, of course, goal-oriented. What, actually, differs, is the *justificatory basis of the goals*, and its scope.

- There is the adversary conception. It equates 'linguistics' with theory ('linguistics proper'), and AL with practice ('linguistics improper'!), and opposes both to each other. The seemingly clear distinction between 'pure science' and 'technology', between the descriptions of nature and the uses to which these descriptions are put, provided the (false!) analogy.

All four conceptions share one feature: the relationship between TL and AL is regarded as non-convergent.

We oppose an intergral conception of the relationship between TL and AL

- which will do justice to both descriptive and normative philosophy of science, and
- which will allow for the grading/stageing of linguistic research aims as required above.

Rather than basically opposing TL to AL on whatever dubious grounds (s.a.) we conceive of 'linguistics' as a discipline in which theory-formation and application constitute components of an integral entirety. This view requires that two well-cherished ideas are given up:

- TL is not any longer seen as a self-contained activity which is carried out for its own sake exclusively. Like other sciences which like to call themselves 'pure' sciences, TL will have to admit that the Archimedean point, from which 'pure' science expects to unhinge the world, actually, does not exist. 'Pure' sciences and along with them TL share in the task of demystifying the world (cf. Brunkhorst 1978) - but what should not be forgotten is the fact that both 'pure' sciences and TL are, of course, themselves part of this world. They do not operate from some distantly removed place outside. They are themselves subject to the constraints of this world, whose demystification is their task, subject to social determination - which so frequently is negated for these disciplines, and is seen as a characteristic of applied/technological disciplines only.

- As for AL, the humus-theory will have to be dismissed, which conceives of applications as mere post-festum activities, which emanate from TL in a kind of trial-and-error 'fertilizing' attempts - and which therefore have so often failed in meeting the demands of existing language-related areas, whose problems the applications are supposed to solve.

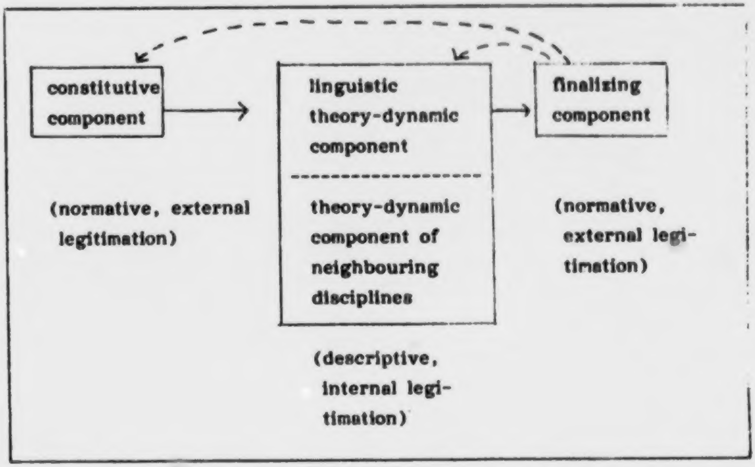
constitutive component
(normative, external legitimation)
linguistic theory-dynamic component
theory-dynamic component of neighbouring disciplines
(descriptive, internal legitimation)
finalizing component
(normative, external legitimation)

Figure 1. Proposed relationship of TL and AL in the linguistic research process.

At first sight it might be surprising that in the above system the term 'applied linguistics' does not show up, whereas linguistic theory-formation retains a central position. Nor should the term 'finalizing component' be mistaken for a mere (perhaps idiosyncratic) exchanging of labels, for a mere substitute for 'applied component'. The trichotomy of the system (for its development outside linguistics cf. Böhme et al. eds. 1978) entails a thorough-going and comprehensive change as opposed to the following traditional relationship:

(Theoretical) Linguistics vs. Applied Linguistics

Figure 2. The traditional relationship.

In the system which we propose in Figure 1, 'linguistics' is not equivalent with TL. Instead 'linguistics' comprises, among other components, TL (=linguistic theory-dynamics) as *one* necessary component. What is usually called the 'applied' aspect of linguistic research comes in in the two components which frame the theory-dynamic one:

- There is the *constitutive component*. It thematizes what is considered important enough to be investigated, and how this selection is determined - a priori problems which depend on sociopolitical-historical etc. conditions - and which thus is not legitimized language-internally but externally; in other words, the legitimation of this component is derived from the problems which society faces, from the needs of man; in other words, the justification of the constitutive component of linguistics is based on a normative, socially oriented, philosophy of science. (For a more detailed treatment, cf. Kühlwein 1987a.)

- There is the *finalizing component*. It also is determined normatively, it also is socially oriented. Two characteristics clearly distinguish it from the above-mentioned trial-and-error humus-theory of 'application', and it is not synonymous with 'practice' either:

  - The finalizing component is designed in such a way as to develop specialized theories for practical purposes such as understanding a foreign language, vocabulary teaching, therapy of specific speech disorders, and thousands of others.

  - Looking at the finalizing component as *following* general theory-dynamics does not at all reveal its entire nature. Of course, specialized (finalizing) theory-formation must be preceded by general theory-dynamics; both, however, are related to and by strength of this relation determined by the - *preceding* - constitutive component, the dimension of explanatory, screening pre-theoretic intuitions, knowledge, and beliefs of the researcher.

As for the *theory-dynamic component* of the linguistic research process, the normative determination can only bear insofar as theory-dynamics is seen from the point-of-view of its being related with the two other research phases, constitution and finalization. Regardless of this encompassing normative, externally legitimized framework, linguistic theory-dynamics, the competition of language theories, can well proceed along a descriptive philosophy of science, ie. it can well be legitimized internally.

One should also admit that now and then applicable 'fall-out' is produced by (descriptively motivated, ie. socially unconcerned) theory-dynamics directly. That shortcuts of this kind, which tend to disregard constitutive and finalizing (normative) considerations, are not too effective, however, can be illustrated nicely by a comparison from the realm of natural science, the development of fermentation research vs. that of flow dynamics (cf. Böhme 1978). For a very long time the former was primarily determined by lasting internal controversies among rivalling theories; applicable results were meagre. The latter, aero- and hydrodynamics, on the other hand, were characterized from their outset by a strong external determination; this state of affairs led to an early development of more or less 'mature' theories and, along with them, to excellent finalization.

2.2. We return to our object of research, the grasp of language at a section of reality, 'beauty'. Among the linguistic approaches developed for tasks like this it seems evident that it is the sociosemiotic approach which complies best with the requirements set by a normative, externally legitimated philosophy of science, which takes account of human and social constraints. We shall briefly set it into relief against other (older) approaches.

- There is the approach based on (and restricted to) the conception of language as a system. As shown in Kühlwein 1987b (part 2) it yielded many valuable lexical field studies, nearly all of them - despite differences as to the underlying linguistic theories: structural ones, stratificational ones, generative ones, etc. - following the same 'paradigm' (in T.S. Kuhn's sense), being satisfied with descriptive justification. Cross-language lexical field studies were scarce, and so were endeavours to finalize.

- There is the deeper reaching approach that is based on the conception of language as knowledge and traces formal-functional-grammatical differences down to underlying conceptual strategies of mental processing of reality. Again, however, finalizing considerations were rare.

The sociosemiotic approach proposed here is based on language as behaviour. It is close to, but not equal to a pragmatic approach to cross-language analysis. As shown in Kühlwein (1987b) cross-language pragmatic studies in the lexical area still have to cope with the problem of existence, format, and psychological reality of a pragmatic deep structure as tertium comparationis, and, after all, are rather of a descriptive than of an explanatory nature. Why?

Differences in the grasp of reality along different languages reflect deeper possibilities and contrasts on a sociocultural, anthropolinguistic, ethnolinguistic level. Each person, each object, each event, about whom/which we communicate, has a potential of semiotic properties. Members of different societies/speech-communities make differing choices from this latent semiotic potential when perceiving - and what is actualized from latency by these processes differs accordingly. There will be certain semiotic properties which might kind of impose themselves on members of one speech-community, whereas the same properties might remain completely unnoticed by members of other speech-communities. In a society where women have to do most of the physical labour the property 'bulkiness of physical stature' will acquire a high degree of semioticity (and in addition be evaluated as very beautiful). In the fifties of our century, when few Europeans only had been in a position to afford a longer seaside or mountain holiday, 'being tanned' had acquired high semioticity. On the other hand in the Middle Ages, when women had to do much outdoor work, a white (untanned) complexion was highly semiotic, struck people immediately, and got to be regarded as a major constituent of female beauty. Quite obviously, what is actualized from the semiotic impact of a person/object/event, the semiotic thrust which he/she/it exerts upon us, the different ways in which they affect our perception, determine the cross-cultural differences of semiotic profiling - which will be reflected accordingly on the linguistic plane. And as the linguistic products of these different perceptual strategies and mental processings are (at least more or less) understandable among members of the same speech-community/society, their ultimate causes cannot solely lie on a psycholinguistic level, but must necessarily be of a social origin/nature: processes of semiotization varying across societies: sociosemiotic processes. (As for the relation between this use of 'sociosemiotic' to Halliday's use of the term, cf. Kühlwein 1987b.)

The great impact of a sociosemiotic view on the constitution of one's object of research, the social, normative, external determination which it exerts, will have become apparent. What about its impact on finalization? Without doubt, a strictly descriptively, internally motivated systemically based lexicological study is legitimate for its own sake. As human beings we have got to ask how this world (and language as one of its features) is structured. A sociosemiotically based study, however, extends beyond this end (cf. above: Stageing/grading of aims). To reveal the determining powers - here the sociosemiotic habits, constraints, forces - behind different languages means to get a better access to differences in perception of the respective societies/speech-communities. This better access to perception can become a key to better comprehension. At this stage the various uses come into play, to which the results of a cross-language sociosemiotic analysis can be put, eg. in foreign language learning/teaching or in translating or in interpreting, etc. Facilitation of, for instance foreign language comprehension need not, however, be the 'ultimate' finalization; after all, it is an absolutely traditional and usual 'application'. Beyond this aim, better comprehension may in turn well become a key for better mutual understanding across cultures as an 'ultimate' finalization. The chain 'perception - comprehension - understanding' (for more details cf. Kühlwein 1984) might explain our emphasis on the distinction between finalization and mere application. As opposed to so many kinds of 'application' true finalization is the consequent, deliberately planned, and socially legitimized result of research which from its very start (constitutive phase!) is carried out under the auspices of a likewise social, external legitimation - methodically embodied by a sociosemiotic view in our example.

3. The lexical field 'Aesthetic Judgement'

3.0. Aims.

We investigated the lexemes for 'Beauty' (B) of human beings in English (E) and French (F). In the interest of the ultimate aim of coming to a better mutual understanding we should be able to put each actual utterance referring to B into relief against the overall inclination or disinclination towards, respectively against, attributing or expressing B at all, ie. its degree of its overall semiotic relevance/importance in different cultures/societies. Furthermore a proper understanding of an actual utterance referring to B can only be achieved on the basis of the - conscious or subconscious - knowledge about the sociosemiotic conditions that must be met to assign B to somebody in a certain culture (sociosemiotic profiling).

3.1. Tools and Procedures.

The following lexemes were considered:

F: beau, chic, coquet, élégant, épatant (inélégant) joli I ♂ (laid), mignon I ♂, pimpant I ♂, ravissant ♂

E: beautiful I ♂, chic I ♂, comely I ♂, dressy, elegant, glamorous I ♂, good-looking, gorgeous I ♂, handsome I ♀ (inelegant), lovely I ♂ (plain), pretty I o, smart (ugly), (unsightly)

(...) = antonyms; I ♀ largely incompatible with 'female'; I ♂ largely incompatible with 'male'.

The study is corpus-based. There were 563 French and 773 English informants of all age groups (mainly, however, 30-35 years; actually, the age parameter did not yield significant differences).

A set of 11 parameters was administered to the B-lexemes, eg. [+ refined features] vs. [- refined features]. The assessment for each test question (eg. opposition tests like (... not ... but ...), or (... not really ... but only ...)) for each lexeme along each parameter was done by the informants along a scale of evaluation ranging from + 2 via + 1, 0, - 1 to - 2. Altogether we had 7,360 decision making acts for French, and 11,920 for English, which then were processed according to the usual quantitative linguistic procedures (factor analysis, χ^2-tests, standard values, standard derivations, significant derivations, etc.).

The three semiotically most relevant criteria according to which B is assigned to persons in both F and E seem to be (cf. flow chart below):

- the semantic reference of aesthetic judgement: either primarily to clothing or to body (Parameters P 1 and P 2)

- aesthetic judgement itself:
  - constitution (P 3)
  - perfection (P 4)
  - harmony (P 5)

- non-aesthetic judgement:
  - physiological preconditions:
    - age (P 6)
    - sex-typicity (P 7)

- psychological preconditions:
  - vanity (P 8)
  - warm-heartedness (P 9)

- psychosomatic impression:
  - naturalness (P 10)
  - seriousness (P 11)

For further details concerning the choice of lexemes, statistical 'machinery', and numeric data-base cf. Nies (1979); for a preliminary comparison of B in E and German cf. Fries (1982); cf. also Kühlwein (1983).

3.2. Presentation and Discussion of Results

3.2.1. The overall inclination of members of the F speech-community (France) towards attributing B is far greater than that of the E one (Great Britain). Furthermore, in both speech-communities B is attested to women considerably more frequently than to men. But the relation between explicitly and positively attributing [+ B] , on the one hand, and explicitly stating the absence of B, ie. attributing [- B] , on the other, equals 2 : 1 for women in Britain, whereas in France it equals 4 : 1; and the only creature that ends up with an overall dominance of [- B] is the male in Britain. The overall gradience is:

F woman (far ahead of) E woman (far ahead of) F man (somewhat ahead of) E man.

We have also got some prelimiary German (G) data which also reveal a distinct predilection of + B for women as against - B , the exact figures for the G speech-community (Federal Republic) being somewhere between the E and F ones; the absolute figures for the G woman, however, are much lower than those for the F one. Futhermore, like the E man, the G man is characterized by an overall dominance of - B .

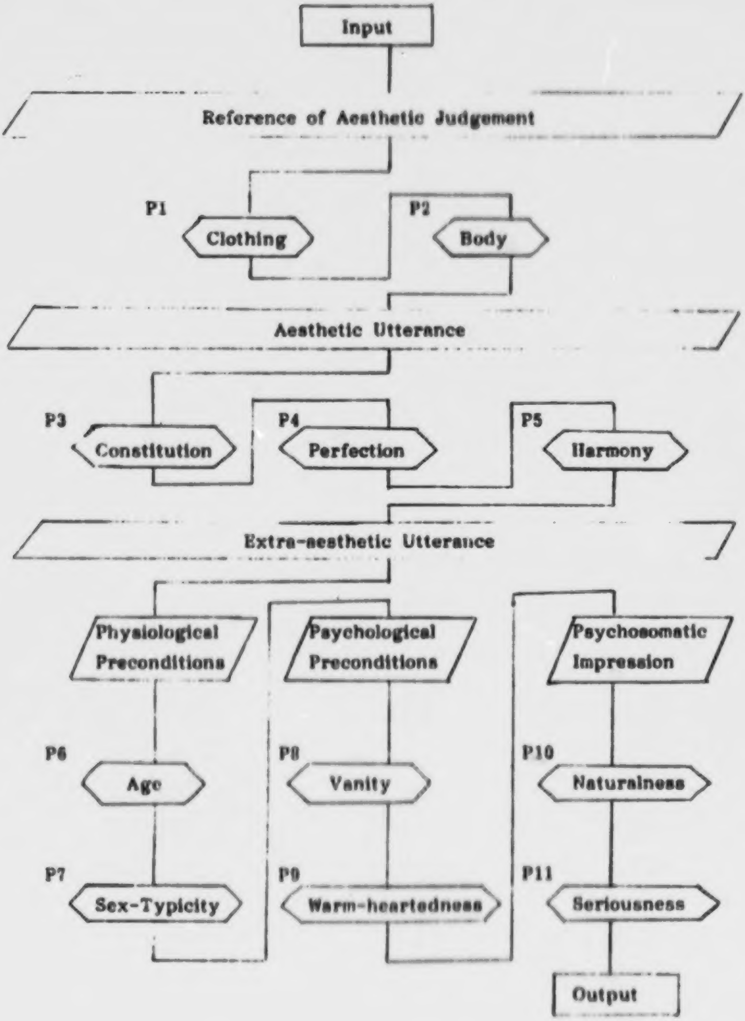
Input
Reference of Aesthetic Judgement
P1
Clothing
P2
Body
Aesthetic Utterance
P3
Constitution
P4
Perfection
P5
Harmony
Extra-aesthetic Utterance
Physiological Preconditions
Psychological Preconditions
Psychosomatic Impression
P6
Age
P8
Vanity
P10
Naturalness
P7
Sex-Typicity
P9
Warm-heartedness
P11
Seriousness
Output

Figure 3. Flow chart.

As for the bearings on our final aim, 'better understanding', a brief inference will suffice. Quite a basic command of F will enable an E speaking person (and vice versa) to comprehend an utterance by which B is attributed to somebody or by which B is denied. But what matters beyond this simple act of comprehension, what determines the true understanding (here sociosemiotic significance) of such an utterance eg. for a F speaking person when exposed to E, is the obvious fact that the 'value' of an actual utterance by which B is attributed to a person in Britain is considerably greater than that of the corresponding F utterance in France, as the sociosemiotic thrust of B turned out to be basically greater in F than in E; the setting into relief against the basically lower level in E, on the other hand, gives more markedness to the actual utterance. Likewise in all other constellations.

3.2.2. From this 'macroscopic' look we will now turn to the 'microscopic' perspective, investigating the relevant sociosemiotic properties: parameters P 1 - P 11.

Semantic reference to clothing [± well-dressed] vs. body ± good physical appearance (P 1/P 2)

These two parameters have to be treated together as there are - differing - mutual dependencies.

The semiotic thrust which emanates from being well-dressed can at the same time trigger the effect which is caused by good physical appearance more easily in the F speech-community than in the E one. This holds true in particular for women. Stated more simply: for women in France adjectives which per se primarily refer to a state of being well-dressed can evoke an impression of physical B more easily than their E counterparts can do. This triggering effect manifests itself in the opposite direction even more clearly with F adjectives which per se primarily refer to good physical appearance of a woman. Likewise, as for E and F men, F adjectives which primarily refer to being well-dressed can evoke an impression of good physical appearance more easily than their E counterparts can do; here, however, the difference between E and F is only slight. However, the F speech-community evinces a stronger disinclination against associating well-dressedness with adjectives that primarily refer to good physical appearance of men than is done in the E speech-community.

The obvious conclusion is that sexspecificity plays a considerably more important role for the contrast P 1 and P2 in F than it does in E.

As for the realization of this sociosemiotic contrast all F B-adjectives used for men can also be used for women, whereas *joli*, *mignon*, *épatant*, *pimpant*, *ravissant* are largely inappropriate to denote B for men. In E *handsome* is inappropriate for women, *pretty*, *comely*, *glamorous*, *lovely* to a wide extent also *gorgeous* and *chic* are inappropriate for men. As regards these two fairly clearly profiled semantic poles both languages are fairly similar. The distinctions noticed above derive from the large area of adjectives which are compatible with both male and female: *chic*, *coquet*, *élégant*, *beau* in F, and *elegant*, *smart*, *good-looking*, and *dressy* in E.

Constitution [refined vs. coarse features] (P 3)

These properties are also treated in very different ways in both cultures. In the F speech-community there is a strong tendency towards attributing such B-adjectives which primarily refer to physical B on the basis of refined features. In cases of coarse features a striking tendency is manifested in the F speech-community to attribute B-adjectives nevertheless. But the adjectives chosen in these cases mainly are those which otherwise primarily refer to clothing. In the E speech-community the difference of the semiotic impact of refined vs. coarse features on the use of such B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing is lower; they are used with equal frequency both along with refined and along with coarse features. Moreover the E speech-community shows a stronger tendency towards attributing such B-adjectives, which primarily refer to good physical appearance, despite coarse features - 'beautiful', however, being excepted.

The thrust of the differentiation refined vs. coarse features seems to be stronger in the F society than in the E one.

Perfection [± consummate outer appearance] (P 4)

As to the relevancy of this parameter, the E and the F speech-community differ greatly, too. Perfection triggers such B-adjectives which primarily refer to the state of clothing in F much more easily than in E, where in turn perfection triggers adjectives referring to physical B slightly more easily than in F, particularly for the E male.

The risk, *not* to be called *chic*, *elegant*, *smart* despite a perfect appearance is much greater in E than in F, where *élégant* will probably be attributed; on the other hand, a person of less perfect appearance will hardly be called *unchic* or *inelegant* in E.

Perfection seems to be more important in F than in E for the attribution of B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing. But the chances of being assigned B-adjectives which primarily refer to physical appearance are higher for a perfectly appearing person in E (especially for the E male) than in F.

Consequently the risk *not* to be called *good-looking*, *pretty* or *beautiful* despite a perfect appearance is much lower in E than in F for eg. *beau*, *joli*, *mignon*.

This tendency to relate perfection rather to physical appearance in E seems to be even stronger for the male than for the woman.

Harmony [± harmony of appearance] (P 5)

This feature turns out to be much more relevant for the conception of B in F than in E, especially as regards clothing; in E even lack of harmony can well go along with B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing fairly easily, whereas in F lack of harmony more or less excludes B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing; in the latter respect both F and E are somewhat more lenient with men than with women.

Obviously lack of harmony of appearance is more striking to members of the F speech-community than to those of the E speech-community.

Age [± looking one's age (mid-age)] (P 6)

This parameter also reveals fairly clear distinctions. Whereas the F speech-community is fairly generous in assigning B-adjectives (in particular such ones which primarily refer to clothing - politeness!) to women who look their age, the E spech-community tends to be rather harsh towards women who try to look younger than they are.

The F man - especially if he does not look his age - is treated more harshly than the respective F women, but still more leniently than the respective E man, who in turn is treated slightly more leniently than the E woman. Altogether in this respect F is rather generous to the woman, E being somewhat more lenient with the man.

Sexually typical appearance [± feminine/masculine looking] (P 7)

As one will have expected, this parameter has high semiotic power in both speech-communities: no B-adjectives if no sex-typicity of women in both E and F; for men: a distinctly male appearance easily evokes such B-adjectives which primarily refer to good physical appearance in both E and F; there is only a slight evocation of such adjectives which primarily refer to clothing as far as E men are concerned; for the F woman, however, this feature can evoke such primarily clothing-oriented adjectives fairly easily.

Vanity [± the intention to impress by a good appearance] (P 8)

This parameter mainly affects those B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing. Being fairly relevant for the F woman and - somewhat less - for the F man, it is next to irrelevant for both woman and man in the E speech-community.

Warm-heartedness [± amiable, warm-hearted, friendly] (P 9)

On the whole the F speech-community reacts somewhat stronger towards this parameter; it has a slightly positive effect on evoking such F adjectives which mainly refer to good physical appearance.

Naturalness [± natural, unassuming vs. well-groomed, cultivated] (P 10)

What is striking here is the observation that the F speech-community seems to react more sensitively towards both natural and cultivated appearance: B-adjectives which primarily refer to good physical appearance are triggered both by natural and by cultivated appearance very easily for the F woman; for the F man, E women and men, these adjectives are more easily compatible with [+ cultivated] than with [+ natural], but the respective correlations are weaker than for the F woman. Furthermore in F there is a strong correlation of cultivated appearance with such B-adjectives which primarily refer to clothing, especially with women.

Seriousness [± serious, earnest vs. cheerful, serene] (P 11)

The significance of this feature for the evocation of B-adjectives is rather low in both speech-communities. What can be seen most clearly is the influence of [+ cheerful, serene] on the evocation of such B-adjectives which primarily refer to good physical appearance for the woman in the F speech-community.

3.2.3. A cross-language comparison of the relative relevancy of these sociosemiotic properties should take into account the following distinction:

- adjectives that go with both male and female
- adjectives which are completely or at least highly incompatible with one of the sexes.

Now we can set up a separate hierarchical list for each of these two groups of adjectives, showing the relative power of the various sociosemiotic properties as to the evocation of B-adjectives (see Figure 4).

A somewhat detailed comparative discussion concerning the major differences and similarities across languages is given in Kühlwein 1983 (14 ff.). Without going into the manifold details here we can infer from the criterial list as given by figure 4:

As for the attribution of B-adjectives marked as compatible with both male and female, the F speech-community allows for a far wider scope of both aesthetic and extra-aesthetic (physiological, psychological, psychosomatic) judgements, when women are concerned. Within the E speech-community the spectrum of properties which can evoke this group of B-adjectives is even somewhat broader for the man than for the woman. In the E speech-community the attribution of these B-adjectives seems to follow a more clearly profiled image of the woman, whereas in the F speech-community it seems to be much more strongly oriented according to the specific person concerned, as can especially be seen from the occasional admittance of absolutely contrary properties.

As for the attribution of B-adjectives marked as (highly) incompatible with either male or female, psychosomatic properties (like naturalness, seriousness/cheerfulness) matter much more in the case of women in the F

	F compatible		E compatible		F (highly) incompatible with o		E (highly) incompatible with o	
Rank	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
1	+cloth.	+cloth.	+cloth.	-sex typ.	+sex typ.	+natural	+perf.	-sex typ.
2	-natural	-natural	+l.o.age	-natural	+refined features	+refined features	+sex typ.	+phys.app.
3	+vanity	+perf.	+vanity	+cloth.	+cloth.	-sex typ.	+cloth.	+refined features
4	-harmony	+vanity	-natural	+perf.	+harmony	-natural	+vanity	+perf.
5	+natural	+harmony	+perf.	+vanity	+phys.app.	+perf.	+phys.app.	+vanity
6	+perf.	-refined features	+phys.app.	+l.o.age	-serious	-serious	+refined features	+harmony
7	+l.o.age	+l.o.age	-refined features	-vanity	+perf.	+phys.app.	+l.o.age	-natural
8	+harmony	-vanity	refined features	+phys.app.	-natural	+harmony	-natural	+l.o.age
9	-warm-hearted	-sex typ.	+sex typ.	+refined features	+vanity	+vanity	-vanity	+clothing
10	-l.o.age	+phys.app.	-vanity	-perf.	-refined features	-l.o.age	+natural	-vanity
11	+serious	-l.o.age	-perf.	-harmony	+natural	-harmony	+harmony	+sex typ.
12	-perf.	-serious	-harmony	+sex typ.	-vanity	+cloth.	-l.o.age	-refined features
13	+sex typ.	-perf.	-l.o.age	+harmony	+warm-hearted	-vanity	-perf.	-serious
14	-refined features	-harmony	+harmony	+natural	-perf.	+warm-hearted	+warm-hearted	+warm-hearted
15	-vanity	+natural	+natural	-l.o.age	+l.o.age	-perf.	-refined features	-warm hearted
16	+phys.app.	+warm-hearted	+warm-hearted	-refined features	-l.o.age	-refined features	-harmony	-perf.
17	-serious	+serious	+serious	+warm-hearted	-harmony	+serious	-serious	-harmony
18	+warm-hearted	-warm-hearted	-serious	-serious	+serious	+sex typ.	+serious	+natural
19	+refined features	+refined features	-warm-hearted	+serious	-warm-hearted	-warm-hearted	-warm-hearted	+serious
20	-sex typ.	+sex typ.	-sex typ.	-warm-hearted	-sex typ.	+l.o.age	-cloth.	-l.o.age
21	-phys.app.	-phys.app.	-cloth.	-cloth.	-cloth.	-cloth.	-sex typ.	-cloth.
22	-cloth.	-cloth	-phys.app.	-phys.app.	-phys.app.	-phys.app.	-phys.app.	-phys.app.
	beau, chic, coquet, élégant, épatant		dressy, elegant, good-looking smart handsome excluded		joli, mignon, pimpant, ravissant		beautiful, chic, comely, glamorous, gorgeous, lovely, pretty	

(——= borderline of positve scoring)

Figure 4. Overall hirarchy of sociosemiotic properties as to the evocation of B-adjectives

speech-community than in the case of women in the E one. As for men aesthetic properties (constitution, perfection, harmony) can cause the assignment of this group of adjectives more easily in the F speech-community than in the E one, and even more easily than for the woman in the E speech-community.

3.2.4. Cross-language studies have been wrestling with all kinds of equivalences with more or less success: formal ones, derivational-semantic ones, paraphrases, translational ones, functional-communicative ones. What can definitely be concluded from our study is the certainty that there is no such thing as 'sociosemiotic equivalence' either. This insight will serve as a sociosemiotic safeguard against false friends like 'elle est très chic/élégante vs. she is quite chic/elegant.' But, what is more important, it will make us look out for the peculiarities of sociosemiotic profiling in a different culture before assessing an utterance in the respective foreign language. What might be a sociosemiotic norm in one culture/language can easily turn out to be sociosemiotically marked or deviant in another culture/language - despite formal, functional or any other equivalences or pseudo-equivalences.

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LANGUAGE AS A TARGET AND INSTRUMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the intersection of language codes in the educational system of multilingual Yugoslavia. It is argued that the freedom to teach, learn and use one's own mother tongue has a positive effect on the development of the personality of an individual if it does not hamper the communication within the wider environment. It is also pointed out that an awareness of the structure of the dialect and its interrelationship with the standard contributes to the individual's integrity and independent thinking, since the individual identifies with the dialect rather than with the standard language.

The scope of the notion 'language' can be examined at four levels of abstraction. At the highest level, it is defined as a set of communication systems of which the speech of the humans is a subsystem. At the second highest level, only the speech of the humans is taken into consideration. At the level below it, 'language' refers to all the idioms of a language community, on the basis of which the community itself is defined. At the lowest level, it is restricted to the institutionalized, socially acknowledged collective idiom of a given language community, to the standard as an antipode of the dialect and sociolect. When we speak of the language in the educational process of a community, we are concerned with all the languages taught and all the languages through which teaching is carried out. Consequently, we start from the second highest level of abstraction and take into consideration the two levels lower than it.

The role of language in the educational process is very specific. It is at the same time the target of mother tongue and foreign language education and the instrument through which that education is carried out. This specificity obliges. Language is, however, so much part of our living that, not only the user of the products of the educational process, the society, but also the educators themselves are anaware of their obligations.

The mother tongue is known, so the role of the mother tongue teacher is to analyse its structure, taking for granted a whole range of primitives, and to reinforce the norm. Drilling is often limited to writing compositions, whose value is assessed on the basis of the number of qualifying adjectives contained. Not much attention is paid to preparing the students for variable language use in different environments at variable levels of formality. Dialectal variations are either completely ignored or else only touched upon through one or two illustrative texts.

With foreign language teaching the situation is a lot better. The foreign language has to be learnt, so the curricula pay attention to acquisition of facts about the phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis of the target language, as well as to mastering the skills of understanding, reading, speaking, and writing. Nevertheless, the foreign language is viewed as an invariant system and its acquisition is linear. The differences between the literary and the colloquial registers are, as a rule, only illustrated while the dialects and sociolects are hardly ever mentioned. As a consequence, in spite of the communicative approaches, the communicative competence of our students is limited.

Little or no attention is paid to the varieties of foreign language teaching. Of course, the differences between foreing and second language are gradually being acknowledged, but the curricula for the acquisition of the latter are far from adequate, What we call 'second language' is not, as a matter of fact, an unique category. The interrelationship of the languages which are targets and instruments in the educational process of multilingual Yugoslavia shall illustrate the complexity of this notion and the problems it brings about.

Of the twelve languages spoken and taught as a mother tongue in the country,[1] ten function as predominant languages in larger or smaller communities, three are predominant within a republic and one, Serbo-Croatian, the language whose native speakers by far outnumber the native speakers of each and all of the other languages,[2] is unofficially used as a means of communication between speakers whose native languages differ.[3] In this complicated language setting, the distinction first/second or native/foreign language was not satisfactory; it was necessary to make more refined characterisations. So, one introduced the notion 'language of the environment'. Candidates for the status of the 'language of the environment' are all the languages spoken as mother tongues in larger of smaller communities in Yugoslavia. For any given individual, there are eleven such languages, the twelfth language spoken as a mother tongue in the country being his/her own mother tongue.

The teaching of the languages of the environment is integrated in the educational system (or rather systems) of Yugoslavia, though not on a compulsory basis: it is up to the pupil and/or the parent to decide whether to enrol and which languages(s) to select. In theory, any pupil can select any and all eleven languages of his environment; in practice, however, the ethno-linguistic structure of the immediate environment and the prospects for the use of the language impose high restrictions on his/her selection. In regions inhabited by members of both the nations and the nationalities[4] of Yugoslavia, as well as in the republics in which the less widely spoken languages of the nations, Macedonian and Slovenian, predominate, at least one language of the environment is being selected as a target language by every primary school pupil. Typically, the native speakers of the languages of the nationalities study the language predominating in the republic in which they live, the native speakers of the languages of the nations who inhabit regions where the languages of the nationalities are more or less widely spoken study the language of the nationality with which they have intensive contact, while those native speakers of Macedonian and Slovenian who live outside the regions where there are substantial numbers of native speakers of the languages of the nationalities, study Serbo-Croatian. The speakers of Serbo-Croatian who inhabit and are educated in regions where contacts with the languages of the nationalities are not prominent or do not exist at all show little interest in studying the languages of the environment: all Belgrade primary schools offer Macedonian and Slovenian, but the demand for them is low. On the other hand, in the schools in Macedonia, where the basic medium, i.e. the instrument of instruction is Albanian or Turkish, not one but two languages of the environment, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, are studied, but the teaching of Serbo-Croatian is a residual from the postwar period, when that language was part of the primary school curricula throughout the country, and is, consequently, not indicative of pupil or parent preferences.

It was pointed out above that the motivation for selecting a language of the environment as a target language depends on the ethno-linguistic structure of the immediate environment and the prospects for the use of the language. This general dependency can be further specified if we examine enrolments in regions where there are substantial numbers of native speakers of the languages of the nationalities.

According to the data given by Mikes (1984:123-124), in the Autonomous Region of Vouvodina, during the academic year 1979/80, 80 per cent of the primary school pupils of Hungarian nationality attended schools where instruction was given in their mother tongue; for the pupils of Slovak, Romanian and Ruthenian nationality the respective percentages were 65, 68 and 45. In the same period the secondary schools of the region offered instruction in the mother tongue to 70 per cent of the pupils of Hungarian nationality, to 32 per cent of the pupils of Slovak nationality, 38 per cent of the pupils of Romanian nationality, and 24 per cent of the pupils of Ruthenian nationality. An analysis of these data in the light of the shares of the given nationalities in the overall population of the region (which, according to the 1981 census, are: Hungarian 19, Slovak and Romanian 3 each, and Ruthenian less than 1 per cent), leads to the conclusion that the coverage of the population of the nationalities by instruction in the mother tongue is high, but diminishing with the diminishing share of the given nationality in the overall population of the region, as well as with transfer from primary to secondary school. This conclusion is not surprising: the educated members of the community are bound to move out of it and are, consequently, urged to prepare for adequate communication with individuals and groups that do not speak their mother tongue. This urge, of course, increases with the decrease of the share of the members of a given nationality in the overall population of the country.

Evidence from Slovenian and Macedonian lends support to these conclusions. In the Slovenian region of Prekmurje, in two communities in which the indigenous population consists of Slovenes and Hungarians, all classes in nursery and primary school are conducted alternatively in Slovenian and Hungarian. The educators aim at a specific type of bilingualism, referred to as *functional bilingualism* (cf. Lũk 1984; Mikes, Lũk, Junger 19[illegible]), which enables the individual to use each of the two languages relative to the functions which they have. In practice, the primary school leavers whose mother tongue is Slovenian are able to use Hungarian only in everyday conversation, while the ones whose mother tongue is Hungarian get initial preparation for use of Slovenian in more official situations, as well. In the secondary school and at the University, instruction is in Slovenian.[5] Thus, the bilingual education has a double integrative role: (a) it prepares native speakers of both Slovenian and Hungarian for coordinative life in their own communites and (b) it equips native speakers of

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Hungarian with the necessary language prerequisite for their further education and for life outside Prekmurje.

In the Macedonian communities in which there are substantial numbers of inhabitants whose native language is Albanian or Turkish, there are both primary and secondary schools with Albanian or Turkish as a medium of instruction. Nevertheless, many native speakers of Albanian and Turkish attend secondary schools where all teaching is in Macedonian or else ones in which some subjects are taught in the language of the nationality and some in Macedonian.[6] In this way, they are well prepared for further education, which is in Macedonian, and for integration in the intellectual life of the republic.

In the autonomous region of Kosovo, where instruction is parallel in Albanian, Turkish, and Serbo-Croatian (for different segments of the population), and in all spheres of life the three languages are used (with Albanian prevailing, because the native speakers of that language are in majority), the native speakers of Albanian are educated in Albanian and the native speakers of Turkish in Turkish, the former all the way through. The freedom to learn and use the language of their own choice undoubtedly contributes to their independent thinking; it, however, has an adverse effect on their overall intellectual development. Since they can use adequately their mother tongues in all walks of life in the region, the native speakers of the languages of the nationalities are not urged to learn the language of their environment well (or even at all). As a consequence, (a) the co-living within the region is inadequate, and (b) the native speakers of the languages of the nationalities are insufficiently prepared for integration in the life of the country as a whole. The latter, not only because their knowledge of any of the other Yugoslav languages is insufficient, but also because, the educational level of the Yugoslavs whose mother tongue is Alabanian being (out of historical reasons) perspicuously lower than elsewhere, there is a severe lack of qualified personnel who could teach in that language and, consequently, the general knowledge acquired by the pupils of the schools where Albanian is the instrument of instruction is in disparity with the general knowledge acquired elsewhere in the country. (Endeavouring to remedy the situation, one has been made it even worse; by the lowering of the standards one has produced quantities of formally qualified personnel and has allowed for a scale of quality in the country as a whole.[7])

I could finish by stating that the freedom to teach, learn and use one's own mother tongue has a positive effect on the development of the personality of an individual only if it does not impose limitations upon the communication within his/her wider environment. But, before finishing I would like to throw light upon the fact that, like the notion 'second language', the notion 'mother tongue' does not refer to a unique category, but rather to a cross-section over a scale of dialects and sociolects. This cross-section is especially transparent in languages with recent standardization, such as Macedonian.

Typically, a speaker of Macedonian develops in a specific local dialect atmosphere. If he/she lives in one of the provincial towns, he/she grows up with a specific local dialect, distinct from the one in the next town even when the latter is no more than ten to fifteen kilometers off, and with a version of the Macedonian standard, which includes all the elements that the dialect shares with the standard language, as well as a varying number of nonstandardized elements characteristic for the language of the area, but definitely excludes all optional standardized features which have their roots in another area. An average speaker of Macedonian who was born and lives in the capital of Macedonia, would follow the same pattern; if he/she is well educated and involved in activities that require official communication, however, he/she would grow up with: (a) a local dialect, (b) a broader regional code, in which the local dialect and the standard language are interwoven,[8] and (c) a version of the standard language which excludes the optional standardized features rooted in an 'alien' dialect. The most complicated is the language situation of the speakers that have moved into the capital, and these are a major factor, the city having more than tripled the number of its inhabitants within the forty post-war years, by and large through immigration from other parts of the republic. Adult immigrants usually keep the two codes with which they have grown up, though brushing up their versions of the standard code by getting rid of nonstandardized elements. Their children, however, grow up with three codes: (a) the dialect of the parents, (b) a broader regional code in which the local Skopje dialect and the standard interweave, but which is to some extent influenced by the dialect of their parents, as well, and (c) a version of the standard code, in which the standard codes of the Macedonian speakers in one's own environment intersect.

The different codes are present in the educational institutions, though the educational systems hardly ever acknowledge them. But they should! The individual identifies with the dialect rather than with the standard language, and an awareness of its structure and its interrelationship with the standard would contribute to his/her integrity, to his/her independent thinking. What is more, the language of the environment is not a standard language but a dialect, and the speaker of a language of the nationality would relate to it more readily than to the standard. We might conclude that the freedom to teach, learn and use one's own mother tongue has a positive effect on the development of the personality of the individual if it does not destroy communicative equality and if it takes into account the fact that what we call 'mother tongue' is a complex category, ranging over a scale of codes.

NOTES

[1] In diminishing number of native speakers: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Slovak, Bulgarian, Romanian, Italian, Ruthenian, and Czech.

[2] According to the 1981 census, 16,342,885 out of the total number of 22,424,882 inhabitants of Yugoslavia speak Serbo-Croatian as their mother tongue.

[3] None of the languages of Yugoslavia is the official language for the country as a whole.

[4] The term 'nationality' replaced the term 'national minority', which is considered biased.

[5] Hungarian is taught as a target language only. Classes are set up for native speakers of Slovenian and Hungarian separately, their proficiency being different.

[6] Which subject is taught in which language depends on teacher availability.

[7] There is no state-wide examination at any level.

[8] This regional code moves in the direction of becoming regional register.

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AN ASPECT OF SOCIAL INTERACTION IN COMMUNICATION: POLITENESS STRATEGIES AND CONTRASTIVE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE TEACHING

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The area of special politeness forms and strategies studied in a contrastive approach is of great importance in language teaching. These forms and strategies are an essential part of communication in any language and present, in each language, some specific peculiarities. Their differential teaching is necessary because, if certain common features and elements - maybe universal ones - are undeniable, there are, however also important differences between the various languages that would enter into contact in the learner during the learning process of a foreign language.

The paper presents an overview, from the contrastive point of view, of some general forms of politeness, mostly insisting upon the "politeness formulas" (definition, synthetical conclusions concerning their structure and functions, comparative aspects), to which the author devoted several studies (in Romanian language, followed by a current research in Italian, with a larger team, and some remarks on other languages in a comparative framework, aiming at demonstrating the necessity of contrastive studies aiming at improving foreign-language teaching).

0. One of the major aims in modern teaching of foreign languages in to enable the learners to communicate in the target language, thus creating efficient interaction between the partners. In this respcet, the contrastive (Cs) approach can be very useful. There is however much to be done still, in this regard, in the field of both fundamental and applied research regarding communication strategies.

In was not sufficiently underlined, in Cs linguistics, that one special area of knowledge is of great importance, namely knowledge (including forms and strategies) that is necessary to achieve "politeness" behaviour. This knowledge (which is not only of "pure linguistic" nature) is an essential part of the forms and strategies of communication in any language, and presents, in each language, some specific peculiarities. Their differential teaching is necessary because, if certain common features and elements - maybe universal ones - are undeniable, there are, however, also important differences between the various languages that would enter into contact in the learner during the learning process of a foreign language.

1.0. "Teaching communication" implies, firstly, as a basic postulate, taking into consideration the human peculiarities of the learner and the situations (of a social order) in which he is living and where he is, at a certain moment, and therefore to help him to manifest himself, in order to communicate in that language, as an emitter and as a receiver as well. Secondly, this implies transmitting to the learner the knowledge that is necessary to communication and to train him in the strategies of communication in the respective language. Consequently, a teaching process is needed that develops communication and, as much as possible, actieves teaching in situations of communication.

1.1. This orientation corresponds not only to the theory which I have maintained for a long time concerning language and the psycholinguistic approach in keeping with this theory (Slama-Cazacu 1959/1961, 1968/1973, etc.), putting the stress on the study of language behaviour as an act of communication and in contexts (both determining and being determined by various factors) but also to present-day trends in foreign-language teaching.

1.2. "Communication" in real life situations consists more often than not of exchanges of replies of oral nature; and, in the majority of situations, it occurs within (and has the aim of) interaction, of a social order, between the partners. In this interaction, the partners try either to obtain "profits" through an "open" competition or (more frequently, for pragmatic reasons at least) to arrive at an agreement (in the sense even of "entente"), a balanced satisfaction of reciprocal interests, and an equitable - at least, apparently - distribution of the "profits" for each of the partners.

The necessity results in having recourse, for communication, to the registers that take the most adequate for the situations and for the partners, to use those forms of expression that can satisfy them, make them "benevolent" concerning eventual solicitations included by the emitter in the act of communication and, at any rate, create a favourable impression in the partners. Among these forms, many are strictly codified (lexically, grammatically and even at the suprasegmental level of intonation) in each language; consequently, their use tale quale, as far as their form is concerned, is obligatory in a certain situation.

2.0. To this large category of forms and rules of usage or of strategies of communication pertain the linguistic structures expressing politeness (P) in a certain language. They concern lexical and grammatical forms and stylistic options as well as special formulas (F).

2.1. An important feature must be stressed: these forms and rules of adequate usage are not purely linguistic or structurally autonomous in the behaviour of the individuals. They are very closely linked to the cultures of societies and, consequently, they are not only fixed through social norms, but they are also very variable from a society to another. Members of the same society must learn them (in the native language) since the early childhood (I have studied this aspect, verifying the above assumption, eg. in Slama-Cazacu 1957/1984, 1961/1977). They also learn that their use is obligatory (in the same studies I also presented data concerning the early appearance, at 3 years of age at any rate, of the linguistic consciousness of this coercion). The fact of not using them, in the respective society, is considered a transgression - sometimes very grave - of the norms of communication. Such a fault is sanctioned very often, verbally or through an attitude or behaviour of the people of the surroundings. A foreigner who does not know these forms and strategies (or does not use them, or uses them inadequately) will perhaps be met with clemency, but most frequently his behaviour will make a negative impression (especially if the partners do not know the Fs in the other's language or do not realize that they might be different from their own). This effect will be even more important, if the interlocutor speaks the foreign language well and the "native" partners do not imagine that the fact that he does not use the appropriate forms and Fs is caused by real linguistic ignorance; therefore, he might be suspected of misbehaviour, intentions to offend, arrogance, or even agressive conduct.

Even more so, situations of professional life impose their appropriate use, so that their inadequate use has either negative effects or, even, heavy consequences (as, for instance, in commercial or generally economical negotiations, relations of communication during the working process, relations with a customer, etc.). The correct use of these forms, in their most subtle nuances, may cause positive effects for social interaction or even economic benefits[1].

2.2. A foreigner who does not learn exactly the respective forms and their value in using or not using them can not be considered as really mastering the foreign language which he intends to employ in communication. I would like to mention here also the case of immigrants who have to learn a language for practical aims (mostly for oral communication), and also of students coming from abroad to do their studies in a university or to have a specialized training in a certain field (who receive, in certain countries, the first course in the language they will need for their studies, and who will need that language not only for scientific information and for understanding the lectures delivered at the respective university, but also for their relationships with the university staff and their colleagues, etc.). There are so many lexical forms, grammatical structures, suprasegmental elements and paralinguistic features (and I would also include the nonverbal components of a communicative act, such as gestures, facial expression) which are specific, at a large extent, to language therefore, they have to be taught in an organized manner and submitted to a training in simulated real life situations of communication.

One must say in French *Mon colonel*, and not, as in other languages, *Monsieur* le colonel: or Oui, *Madame Monsieur*, while in other languages (such as Romanian) the mention of the addressee is not obligatory; in Italian one says *Professore*, while in French this professional title is generally not used in addressing (instead *Monsieur/Madame* are required by the "norm"). In English the *you* has the same value in formal or informal register; in French and Italian there are *tu/vous*, *tu/Lei*, while in Romanian there are three degrees (very much used): *tu/dumneata/dumneavoastra* which are all learned by children at a very early age.

3.0. A distinct category in the register of P is that of *politeness formulas* (PF). I have dealt with them in detail in some recent studies of mine, because they have not enjoyed much attention in foreign language teaching and in Cs linguistics and because they are represented by very structured forms which must be learned and used as such in definite situations, with skilled precision.

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[1] Recently, the decision was taken in France in the "hotellerie de luxe" to go back to the traditional politeness: e.g., in such restaurants, to replace questions like "Fromage ou dessert?", or "Combien de cafés?", with "de petites phrases plus agréables à entendre et qui, de surcroit, ont le mérite de gonfler les additions" such as: "Ce camembert ou ce chèvre vous plairait-il?"; or; "Un café vous ferait-il plaisir?" ("Le Point", 1985, no.670, p.60, by J.P.Adine).

3.1. PFs are apparently only a "minor" aspect in a language. They involve important problems in linguistics - concerning the system of the language in question - as well as in the pedagogy of languages and in the practical behaviour of speakers/hearers, as they oblige to a very appropriate use in communication (and, even more, in the general behaviour of people in social settings; sometimes, the only communicative act is, obligatorily, a PF).

The first problem is the scarcity of studies in these Fs in various languages. For the purposes of teaching, there should exist studies in them in the language which is to be taught; for the moment, there are only a few, by the side of American-English[1]: Romanian (the first study was published by myself in 1983; it also includes references to other languages), Italian (under study in Italy under my direction),[2] and sporadically some other languages , such as Greek and Turkish.[3] For the teaching process, it is also necessary to have comparative studies (these are also very rare; the studies of Slama-Cazacu (1983, 1986a, 1986b) are among the first to be published if not the only ones) Finally, it is also necessary to have thorough Cs studies for L_1 and L_2 (there are some partial studies concerning English-German, English-Hebrew,[4] and those mentioned above for Romanian and Italian in contrast with other languages). I have underlined the need of ample research (the research in Italy is an example of such projects) carried out by teams from various countries with a common methodology (mostly a common questionnaire), similar data processing, and an interdisciplinary basis for research and for interpreting the data.

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[1] Brown and Levinson 1978, Brown and Ford 1964, Coulmas 1981b, Edmondson 1981, Ferguson 1976, Goody 1978, Kendon and Farber 1973, Lakoff 1973, Manes and Wolfson 1981, Wolfson 1981a, 1981b, etc.

[2] A study (including three regions of Italy: North, Center and South, with a team of ten persons) which started in 1983; the same questionnaire as for the study in Romanian was used and also the same classifications that the present author elaborated for the PFs in Romanian. First results were communicated at the Round Table "Politeness formulas ans social interaction", at the "First International Congress of Applied Psycholinguistics" (ISAPL), Barcelona, 1985.

[3] Eisenberg 1982, Komnenich 1977, Matisoff 1973, Tannen and Öztek 1981, Tohyama 1983, Youssouf et al. 1976. For Russian, a book by Akisina and Formanocskaja 1978, concerns P style for the needs of teaching Russian, as a foreign language, but PFs are not mentioned.

[4] Cohen et al. 1985, 1986 in press, Edmonson 1977, House 1980, House and Kasper 1979.

3.2. We can certainly put forth the hypothesis that there exist similar forms and strategies of PFs, especially in areas which are geographically close to each other or which have had contacts in the past or a common history. There are also similarities because of linguistic loans or because of particularities which are specific to the human being (hence my hypothesis on some universals of PFs: their structured, short, fixed form, the association with determined situations, their selection also in keeping with the partner, etc.). There are, however differences which impose their study and teaching in a Cs approach.

3.3. The concept of P is variable, historically and geographically;[1] let us mention French *politesse* (deriving mostly from royal court rituals and from the "salons littéraires"), Italian *cortesia* (historically linked to "la corte" of the upper classes life), compared to Romanian traditional *buna cuviinta*[2] "doing what is becoming" (initially mostly linked to a rural tradition, of a sense of solidarity in a population submitted to a difficult history). The Fs expressing P are also variable in time in the same linguistic community; they have an obvious *dynamics*: some Fs disappear or are "forgotten", or "decay" - receiving new shades in meaning; certain connotations enter

[1] The penury of studies on P even in sociology, social psychology, etc. made me launch a call for such studies, see *Newsletter* (European Association of Experimental Social Psychology), 1985, Nov., p.8.

[2] Cipariu 1855, Zanne 1890-1912, volXVII, p.322, Golescu 1975 new edition; the author wrote at the beginning of the 19th century . Upon defining P in Romanian, I also used a large gamut of expressions pertaining to the same semantic field, which are peculiar for Romanian as far as their connotations and relations intra-field are concerned: *buna cuviinta* "good manners" ad litt. "doing what is becoming" , *buna purtare* "good conduct", *a te purta frumos cu ceilalti*, *a avea bun simt* "to have good breeding, to know what is becoming", *a-ti pastra obrazul* "to keep one's face" (not in Goffman's sense: in order to express solidarity with the others), *a face fata* "to cope with a situation" (*fata* = "face"), *omenie* "humaneness" (what is peculiar to humanity, with a moral character), also in the expression: *a fi om de omenie* "to be a man with humaneness".

their general semantic area; they sometimes receive ironical nuances, etc.; some other Fs appear at a certain moments; the frequency of usage varies in time. External influences play an important rôle in this dynamics. It is obvious that in teaching a foreign language this dynamics must be taken into account and the difference be stressed between the currently used (which are necessary for oral communication or in official correspondence etc.) and the obsolete ones (whose sense must be known however, for the understanding of literature for instance). The process of teaching has to underline the differences in their values for various situations, for the options connected with partners' age, social strata, etc.

3.4. It is possible, and even necessary, to consider all PFs as single unitary categories (with various sub-categories such as greetings, compliments, requests, thanks, wishes, etc.), because they fulfil the same general function, a common mechanism and structural features as well (see Slama-Cazacu 1983, 1986a).

3.5. In general - in the same language and, probably, in all languages - the form of PFs is typical: stereotyped, learned and used as such; a brief form (the greatest frequency, measured up to now in Romanian and Italian is of PFs of 2-3 words); often elliptical - their sense is commonly interpreted through the context. They imply an exclamatory intonation, sometimes include prosodic elements, a semantic field with positive values ("happiness", "pleasure", "health", etc.). Social convention imposes a certain obligatoriness in the use of PFs concerning their form (a fixed or relatively invariable structure) and concerning their use (using specific Fs) in certain situations.

In many languages, PFs imply an answer; therefore a dialogue is obligatory in the shortest form of address-answer: "-Good morning.-Good morning" or: "-Congratulations.-Thank you". In Romanian, many PFs are constructed as obligatory dialogic[1] strings of Fs: "-How old are you? -Fourty. -May you live still more. -Thanks, the same (to you too)"; "-Is your coat new? -Yes. -May you enjoy wearing it in good health", "-Have you children? -Yes. -How many? -Three. -I wish you joy of them ad litt.: May they live (well) to you . - Thank you, the same for yours etc.".

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[1] Cf. also, for the peculiarities of dialogue in Romanian: Slama-Cazacu 1981 ("dialogic syntax").

3.6. The Cs study and teaching of the PFs is compulsory. I will only present here some examples to support this principle.[1]

3.6.1. Some *similarities* between PFs in various languages:

(1) In Romance languages: Fr. *Bonjour*, It. *Buongiorno*, Sp. *Buenos dias*, Romanian *Bunaziua*. In Serbo-Croatian *Dobar dan*. In Finnish (Fin.) *Hyvää päivää*.

3.6.2. Here are some slight differences, imperceptible sometimes to a foreigner, who will tend to manifest interferences with his mother tongue or with other languages previously learned; a special stress should be put, as a consequence, on such forms:

(2) The meaning "*Pleasant* dreams": Engl. *Pleasant dreams*, Rom. *Vise* placute "golden dreams": It. *Sogni d'oro* /"sweet dreams": Engl. *Sweet dreams*, Gr. *Oneira glyka*, Scr. *Slatko sanjaj*, Turk. *Tatli rüyalar*. "beautiful dreams": Fin. *kauniita unia*.

3.6.3. Other differences are very salient. These differences make it difficult to translate or to explain the learners such expressions in languages where there are no corresponding Fs (or where these Fs are no more in use). Here are PFs that are completely different for the same situations; they also mirror different mentalities:

(3) (at a burial) RL *Sa-i fie tarina usoara* "Be earth light to him/her", Russ. *Zeml'a byla puom* "Be earth light as a feather (fluff)", Scr. *Laka joj (mu) crna zemlja* "Light *black* earth (on him/her)" - while in Turc. *Topragi bol olsun* "May he/she have plenty of earth" (hence: heavy!; see the explanation of this form in Slama-Cazacu 1983).

(4) "Please" is not used in the Aromanian dialect (see Slama-Cazacu 1983) or in Finnish.

3.7. Practical consequences and problems are obvious, not only for translation, but also for the teaching of foreign languages. Without a Cs study of these aspects, a language will be learned in a fragmentary, unilateral and even erroneous way. An Italian might directly translate into French the very frequent Italian PF (used at a wedding) Auguri e figli maschi "(Good) wishes and (have) boys",[1] which would seem ridiculous in French, as well as in other languages. There are PFs which must not be taken ad litteram as a real invitations such as Spanish Mi casa es Su casa "My house is yours" (which does not mean you are invited to dwell in it), or as American English Come again (which is a real invitation only if a precise date is added, cf. Wolpsson 1981), while in Romanian Mai dati pe la noi "Come again to us" has the sense of a real invitation. A foreigner who learns Romanian must know that the PF (which might be met with in a text referring to historical events in the past) Sarut picioarele Mariei Tale "I am kissing the feet of your Highness" is no longer used and the young generation in Spain would be very surprised if they heard the PF, used by older generations in the past, Me ponga a los pies de Su Senora "Put me at the feet of your wife".

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[1] Here are only some of the examples presented in Slama-Cazacu 1983 (where references concerning the informants and method are also given). We have chosen examples mostly demonstrating the need for Cs studies, which was not dealt with in that paper. Some new examples are added here on Scr. (communicated by Mirko Jivković, 1986). Finnish examples from Lemmi Eloranta.

3.8. Situations in everyday life as well as in professional life make it necessary for people to know and to use correctly the PFs even in informal situations and much more in formal ones. Their learning is obligatory for a complete mastering of a foreign language and therefore they should be included in the process of foreign language teaching, where a Cs approach will certainly be a basic prerequisite.

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[1] In a special dialect of Turkish (cf. Tannen and Oztek 1981: 534) the polite answer to the question: "How many children have you?" is " I have two sons and excuse me one daughter.".

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INVESTIGATING THE COMPLEXITIES OF COMMUNICATION IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

This study was an attempt to explore the success and efficiency of second language learners at different target language levels in communicating their intended meanings. The study included an examination of the factors contributing to learners' communication breakdowns and delay in the communication process. Three groups of adult subjects (native speakers, high proficiency ESL speakers, and low proficiency ESL speakers) were exposed to a conceptidentification task. The results of the study lend support to the proposition that a primary goal of L2 teaching should be developing the learners' survival skills for the negotiation of meaning in communication situations. Students' success in getting the message across should also be given evaluational priority over grammatical accuracy at the early stages of L2 learning.

This study was an attempt to explore the success and efficiency of second language learners at different target language (TL) proficiency levels in communicating their intended meanings. The study included an examination of factors contributing to learners' communication breakdowns and delay in the communication process.

Two hypotheses (H) were tested in the study:

The first H predicted that speakers differ in terms of their success in conveying their intended meanings as a function of their proficiency level in the TL.

The second H claimed that speakers differ in terms of the number of Communication Strategies (CS)[1] they use in conveying their meanings, irrespective of the type of CS they use, as a function of their proficiency level in the TL.

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[1] Communication strategies have been defined as means/tools that L2 speakers use to compensate for gaps in their knowledge of the second language.

Method

There were three groups of 20 adult subjects each: two groups of Persian ESL students at two distinct levels of TL development, and a comparison group of native speakers (NS) of English.

The Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency and the IEA (International Educational Achievement) Test of Proficiency in English as a Foreign Language were used to determine the subjects' levels of grammatical and oral proficiency respectively. On the basis of the results (see Appendix A), two groups of ESL students at two different levels of TL proficiency were chosen for the study. Group 3 (G3) were the native speakers, Group 2 (G2) the high proficiency ESL speakers, and Group 1 (G1) the low proficiency ESL speakers.

Task

The communicative task designed for the study was a conceptidentification task, comprising 20 concrete concepts (eg., pomegranate, abacus, seesaw and lantern) and abstract concepts (eg., courage, pride, flattery and fate).

The task involved oral interaction between the subjects and their NS interlocutors with subjects communicating the concepts of interest.

In order to make the communicative task as close as possible to a real communication situation, each subject had a different interlocutor in order to avoid the subjective judgment of the same interlocutor as to the amount of information that s/he considered sufficient for the conveyance of the target items.

Procedures

In the case of concrete nouns (CN), the pictures of the target items, and in the case of abstract nouns (AN), the target words were put on separate cards and were presented to all subjects in the same order. The subjects were then asked to try to communicate the target concepts, without using the target words, to their interlocutors. A communication gap was, therefore, created between the subjects and their interlocutors to elicit the purposeful, creative, authentic and unpredictable communication (features of real life communication outlined in the literature, eg., Johnson 1977). Interaction between the subject and the interlocutor continued until the interlocutor identified the target concept, or one of the parties gave up.

All interactions were tape recorded and then transcribed for subsequent analyses.

Results

Success

The analysis of the success rate of the subject groups in communicating the target concepts was done primarily by a simple count of each subject's frequency of successful communication. An analysis of variance was then conducted on the mean scores of the groups.

Table 1 shows that while groups were equally successful in communicating concrete concepts, (F (2,57) = 1.29, n.s.), they differed in the success of their communication of abstract concepts, (F (2,57) = 12.71, p < .01; Newman Keuls, p < .05).

Table 1. Summary for between group differences in success

	CN Set	AN Set
Success	n.s.	G3 > G2 > G1 *

* p < .5

The results clearly indicated that AN were more difficult for the learners to communicate than were CN. The data were examined in an attempt to clarify in what way(s) AN were more challenging to the learners. The analysis showed that An demanded more linguistic and cultural knowledge from the speakers and that, in general, grammatical accuracy, knowledge of discourse rules and development of meaningful contexts were often more crucial to the communication of AN than to that of CN.

The following two examples demonstrate that in communicating CN speakers could simply name the features of the target items or use simple phrases to describe them, without necessarily having to put them in grammatically well-formed sentences. In the case of AN, however, syntactic accuracy and development of a meaningful context were often important for their communication.

Example 1:

> "It's a mythical - well, religious figure - with two wings -- young -- usually chubby, young -- wings". (cherub)

Example 2:

> "It's a quality of somebody who is fearless, who is - who does a lot of things that may be even dangerous without hesitation, who couldn't hesitate to - even become killed in some - something that he believes in, would go ahead in the front row." (courage)

The second reason that the communication of AN was more difficult than that of CN is that the constituent features of CN are visual; there is generally more agreement about the constituent features of CN than about those of AN. An interlocutor could build up a visual image of a given concrete target item on the basis of the clues received from the speaker. In the case of AN, however, the semantic components are not only invisible but also may carry social and cultural values of its speech community.

The invisibility of the semantic features of AN may affect their communication in at least two ways:

(1) Speakers may not clearly know the semantic components of certain AN and may not, therefore, be able to isolate all their constituent features. There may even be misconceptions about the precise meanings of these items. This problem was evident in the data of this study. In example 3 below, the subject was describing the target word martyrdom as a synonym for death, and did not make a distinction between the two concepts. Since the other essential semantic component of the concept (ie., 'a cause') was missing from the description, the interlocutor was 'lost' and could not finally identify the concept.

Example 3:

> S: A famous person . . one said . . I'm sorry . . he's died . . what were, what kind of word you use in a famous man, instead

of die? Because it's a . . it's impolite . . it's not a good word "die" . . what, what did, what do you say?

I: You mean instead of death. You don't say death you say . . . Why don't you say death?

S: Yes death. What did you say instead of death?

I: A word that means the same as death?

S: For example, in army . . famous officer is died. In newspaper, when you read what kind of word instead of "die" that have this meaning, die . . death?

I: Why don't you use die? I, I guess our newspapers would just say he died.

S: Yes. It's used to only die . . every person is died.

I: Yes. But why wouldn't you use death, like . .

S: Yes. Another one. (martyrdom)

(2) The second way in which the invisibility of the features of AN may affect their communication is that a definition or a context provided for the communication of a given abstract concept may reflect a number of relevant concepts. In this study, as seen in example 4, unless the subject was capable of focussing on, and specifying the aspect of the context related to the target concept, either the communication was prolonged or it became almost impossible for the interlocutor to identify the target concept.

Example 4:

S: Suppose you want to go to the unknown land, you're a person with __________? You have a __________?

I: You want to find out about this?

S: Yes.

I: Curious?

S: No. You don't know where, where is that place and you want to go to the place for discovering and ... For example you want to go to the forest. There are many many animals on there ... but you, you don't afraid of them you have a _________?

I: An objective, purpose, fear? I'm trying to think of words that would fit into that.

S: You want to fight with a ... a ... with elephant, for example. You know he is stronger than you, but you want fight them.

I: Stubborn, stupid.

S: No.

I: I'm driven. I don't know. (courage)

Another factor that can seriouly affect the communication of AN is that, as mentioned previously, many of these concepts carry different social and/or cultural values for different speech communities and may, therefore, have certain connotations and associations for the ESL speakers which are not shared by the interlocutors. This adds, therefore, to the complexity of the construct of AN and may make it harder for the speakers and NS interlocutors to reach agreement on the meaning of some of those concepts. Of course, CN may also have different connotations and associations for speakers of different cultures. Furthermore, such differences may even exist among individual speakers of the same culture; however, these differences are more marked among speakers of different cultural groups and are more subtle in the case of AN. For example, in this study, in communicating the target item pomegranate NS subjects gave the following descriptions of the item.

"It's the passion fruit."

"Christ always held that to represent the sins of the world." Or, for example, the concept pride was defined by some NS subjects as follows:

"It is one of the seven deadly sins."

"It goes before the fall."

None of the above clues would have been appropriate for Persian interlocutors, who do not make the same associations with the corresponding concepts. Or, for example, while for Persian subjects the concept martyrdom was almost exclusively associated with "dying for a patriotic or a religious cause", for English-speaking subjects it was also associated with daily life contexts such as 'mother-child' relationship: "this is a quality that a lot of mothers have." This association would have made it almost impossible for a Persian interlocutor to identify the concept. Furthermore, in the case of AN, for example, the concepts flattery and pride tended to be judged negatively by Farsi speakers, whereas, they were very often defined in positive terms by English speakers.

Example 5 is the reason an interlocutor gave for his inability to identify the concept of pride from the subject's descriptions.

Example 5:

> "I would use pride in a context as something that you have because you've done something well, but not that it's something that you lose because you've done something badly .... somebody can do something very badly all the time and still be proud. It's something you can have without much reason for having. It's one of the seven sins in Christianity. You hurt your pride but you don't lose it."

It appears, therefore, that the conceptual frameworks of speakers, which are established in their first language (L1) learning are transferred to their use of the second language (L2). That is, learners, at least at the initial stages of their L2 learning, only learn the new labels for previously acquired concepts with specific associations and connotations. 'Conceptual transfer' is, therefore, a subtle transfer from L1, which may create some problems in L2 communication. It seems, therefore, that 'contrastive conceptual analysis' would be an interesting area for L2 learning research.

Another factor affecting the communication of the concepts, particularly AN, was 'lexical split'. For example, the word "Patience" in Farsi, is a derivative from the verb "to wait". Thus, many subjects of the low proficiency group tried to arrive at the word "Patience" by giving clues to the verb "to wait", thinking that the same relationship exists in English. Or, for example, the same word is used in Farsi for "to define" and "to compliment"; so, a number of learner subjects used "to define a person" for "to compliment a person" in conveying the concept of flattery. Contrastive lexical analysis seems to be another important L2 learning research area where, to date, not much work has been done.

For the reasons discussed above, communicating AN was more challenging for the subjects than was communicating CN. Thus, the difference among the groups' ability to deal with the items, although not noticeable in context-embedded communicative situations (ie., CN), were detected in context-reduced communicative situations (ie., AN). These results suggest, therefore, that the type of item (by extension the type of message or topic of conversation) is a factor affecting the success of communication.

H1 was, therefore, partially confirmed by these results.

Apart from the factors discussed earlier, a number of other factors were also identified as major contributors to communication breakdown in general:

(1) The lack of meaningful interaction, particularly between the low-proficiency subjects and their interlocutors, would usually either result in

communication failure or would seriously prolong the communicative process. This lack of meaningful interaction, as shown in example 6, was noticeably due to the subjects' low comprehension level in the TL and their resulting inability to benefit from their interlocutors' responses and/or to provide adequate answers to their questions.

Example 6:

I: And it's a fruit?

S: I think you have, you see, you saw before.

I: Does it have a skin? A peeling? An outside?

S: The skin is red and inside is red.

I: Bright red?

S: This have a paste for use ... cooking.

I: So, they're good to eat (laugh). What kind of tree do they grow on?

S: Inside fruit is very very small.

I: Aha, does it grow on a tree?

S: Is red.

I: But does it grow on a tree rather than a little bush?

S: No tree! (pomegranate)

(2) Interlocutors had a contributing effect in the success or failure of communication. A learner speaker (usually in the case of low-proficiency group) was more likely to fail if the interlocutor would not take an active role in the communication process by asking questions, rephrasing and repairing the speaker's utterances, rearranging in proper order the clues received from the speaker and synthesizing the subject's examples in order to extract a common pattern of meaning from them (see example 7 below).

Example 7:

S: It's a kind of fruit.

I: A kind of fruit. Where does it grow?

S: The season of autumn, may be winter.

I: Grows in autumn. Like an apple?

S: No. And ... have a red, many many red among them. I don't know.

I: It's red and grows in the autumn. Where?

S: Where?

I: Yes. In Iran? Where does it grow?

S: I think in Iran we have very much; but now I didn't see here, before. (pomegranate)

Efficiency

Efficiency was operationally defined as the speed with which subjects could communicate their intended meanings (ie., the average number of trials/CS used per item).

Two measures of efficiency were performed on the data. In the first measurement, the ratio of success to the total number of CS used, and in the second measurement, an average number of CS used per item, irrespective of success, were calculated. Thus, in the first measurement, a higher score and in the second one, a smaller score would indicate more communicative efficiency.

As seen in Table 2, both measures of efficiency produced similar results for CN. It is shown that only the difference between the NS and the learner groups was statistically significant (F(2,57) = 8.16, $p < .01$; Newman Keuls, $p < .05$) (first measurement) and (F(2,57) = 7.17, $p < .01$; Newman Keuls, $P < .05$) (second measurement); the difference between the two learner groups was insignificant. In the case of AN, however, the learner groups were different.

In the first measurement, the distinction among the three groups is clear (F(2,57) = 15.01, $p < .01$; Newman Keuls, $p < .05$); however, in the second measurement, although the mean score of trials for the high-proficiency group was less than that for the low-proficiency group, only the difference between the latter group and NS achieved statistical significance (F(2,57) = 6.41, $p < .01$; Newman Keuls, $p < .05$).

Table 2. Summary for between group differences in communicative efficiency

Measurement	CN Set	AN Set
Success/CS	G3 > G2, G1 *	G3 > G2 > G1 *
numbers of CS/items	G2, G1 > G3 *	G1 > G3 *

* $p < .05$

Once again as in the analysis of 'success', CN did not clearly differentiate the ESL subject groups in their communicative efficiency, while AN did. In conclusion, H2 was partially confirmed by the above findings.

Factors contributing to communicative delay were investigated. Apart from the proficiency level of the speakers, the type of item (CN and AN) and by extension the type of message, a number of other factors appeared to influence the subjects' communicative efficiency. It should be pointed out that the reasons for communicative delay and communicative breakdown were not always clear cut, independent or consistent. First, a single factor that had caused communicative breakdown in one interaction might only result in communicative delay in another, depending on the other factors involved. In effect, any communicative failure or delay is the outcome of a cumulative effect. In general, it was noted, however, that while only serious knowledge deficiencies (ie., linguistic) could result in communicative breakdown, the reasons for communicative delay could range from minor knowledge inadequacies to more serious inadequacies in the communication process. Some of these causes, which were identified as major contributors to either communicative delay, or even breakdown, are as follows:

(1) The type of CS used by the speakers to convey their intended meanings was a contributing factor to communicative efficiency. In this study, for example, strategies of synonymy and antonymy were usually far more effective than say analogy. (See appendix B for the taxonomy of CS used by the subjects of this study.)

(2) The same CS used by different speakers may have different surface realizations in terms of grammatical well-formedness, lexical choice and informative value.

An analysis of the surface realization of a single CS (ie., synonymy) used by different subject groups revealed that while NS' utterances encompassing their CS were error free, those of the learners, particularly the less proficient learners, contained numerous syntactic, lexical and phonological errors (see Appendix C) that at times interfered with the communication process (see discussion below). Grammatical accuracy appears, therefore, to have some role in communication success or efficiency. A more important factor in communicative efficiency, however, may be the informative value of the speaker's strategy.

An analysis of informative value of one of the CS used by subjects ie., synonymy as judged by the appropriateness of their synonyms, demonstrated significant differences among the subject groups (see Appendix D). While the informative value of the strategy of synonymy could be judged by the appropriateness of the given synonyms, the informative value of other CS could probably be determined by the quality of the knowledge (eg., world knowledge) utilzed in them. For example, in communicating the concept of martyrdom, representing the concept through a national figure, not known to the interlocutor's speech community, is of no informative value. On the other hand, the indication of a hero known to the interlocutor may immediately trigger the target concept.

More specific use of vocabulary may also affect the informative value of the speaker's strategies. Compare the following examples;

It is a thing.
It is a kind of light. (lantern)

Both of the above are examples of the superordinate strategy. However, while the first example provides the interlocutor with a very vague piece of information, the second indicates a partial function of the object, and is consequently by far more informative.

An analysis of the number of immediate successes after the use of the strategy of synonymy revealed that more proficient speakers, having fewer inappropriate synonyms and making fewer grammatical errors, had greater number of immediate successes than did the less proficient speakers (see Appendix D).

(3) Another factor contributing to communicative efficiency was flexibility on the part of more proficient speakers, demonstrated in the analysis

of their patterns of repetition. Repetition was the most common compensatory tool used by the speaker of this study, when their initial attempt in communicating their meanings failed.

The analysis of the speakers' repetitions demonstrated that while less proficient speakers had greater mean percentage use of 'exact repetition', more proficient speakers resorted relatively more often to 'repetition of old information in new forms' (see Appendix E), which, clearly, requires flexibility in the use of linguistic forms (ie., alternative syntactic structures and lexical items). The linguistic sophistication required for the use of this type of repetition may be the very reason that less proficient speakers gave up far more frequently than did more proficient speakers (see Appendix F). That is, more proficient speakers, being able to try out different ways of conveying the same message, were less willing to give up than were the less proficient speakers, who had a limited choice of ways of expressing their meanings (see Paribakht 1982 for details).

Apart from the factors suggested above and documented by the analysis of the data of the study, the following factors were observed to influence, in one way or another, success and speed of communication.

(1) The speaker's greater fluency would reduce the number of broken sentences, repetitions and pauses and would, consequently, speed up the communication process

(2) Compatibility of the interlocutors with subjects in terms of:
   (a) Personality (eg., perseverance in the communication of the message)

   (b) Shared knowledge of the world (eg., the languages known, educational and/or professional backgrounds)

   (c) Being a 'visually oriented person' or an ' abstract thinker'

(3) Giving the key features in describing the item, eg., "handle" for "lantern" (also reported by Bialystok & Frohlich 1980)

(4) Providing a proper sequence of clues for items A description which led from the more general to the particular was more appreciated by the interlocutors than one which led from the particular to the general.

The role grammaticality in interaction

An examination of the data revealed that numerous grammatical errors committed by the subjects were usually ignored by their interlocutors, for example:

S: It's a some fruit it has a name . . . red and, and there is a, there is many beans, bean, /graep/ on that, that almost the . . . there is a protector skin.

I: Pomegranate.

Some of the errors of the subjects were, however, occasionally picked up by the interlocutors. These errors would enter the interactional process and would interfere with or affect the communicative exchange.

The general pattern was that an error within a context was less likely to be picked up by the interlocutor than one in a single word with an informative value. The errors occuring within a context and entering the interactional process were usually related to the key words of that context. Furthermore, if a given context was not identifiable because of numerous grammatical errors made by the subject, the interlocutor would often focus only on the item(s) which would make the clarification possible. For example, if the target word was *thimble* and the subject had problems in producing the words *sewing* and *tailor*, understanding or correction of either of these items would remove the distracting effect of the other errors, the context would then be clarified and the interlocutor would ignore the rest of the errors. In short, interlocutors tended to ignore those errors of the subjects which were not crucial to the subject's general meanings:

S: This always . . . /tåylor/use if ... when you want to /sɛu/, /sev/ something.

I: Who uses it?

S: A /tåylor/.

I: A tailor.

S: Tailor

I: When he sews something. . . . (*thimble*)

All the subjects' grammatical errors which were picked up by the interlocutors were identified and then classified. Table 1 Appendix C, reveals that these errors were basically either phonological (54%) or lexical (44%). Syntactic errors hardly ever interfered with the communication process (one instance only, = 1.9%). It is clear from Table 1 that G1 made far more distracting errors than did G2. In G1, 13 subjects made 51 grammatical errors which affected their communicative exchange with their interlocutors. As many as 52% of these errors were phonological, 46% were lexical and only 2% were syntactic. In G2, however, only 4 grammatical errors made by 3 subjects entered the interactional process. Three of these errors were phonological and one was lexical. Table 2, Appendix C, provides details on the number of subjects' grammatical errors in each group. The description of the error categories, and relevant examples, are given below.

I. Phonological Problems. As Table 1, Appendix C, indicates, the erroneous pronunciation of lexical items was most distracting to the interlocutors.

1. S: You bit a . . . two . . . two /râp/, /râp/

I: Rob?

S: /râp/ R O P E. (Subject spells the word).

I Ah, rope . . . (hammock)

2. S: When you want to /su:/ . . .

I: When you want to what? Sue somebody?

S: Yes, no . . . you /su:/ with needle.

I: Oh sew.

S: Sew, excuse me! (thimble)

II. Lexical Problems. Lexical problems of the subjects, one of the main sources of distraction to the interlocutors, appeared in the following ways.

A. Phonologically Deviant Lexical Items. The speaker produces a phonologically approximate form, non-existent in the TL, of a word. Examples:

1. S: You can /kânteynt/ with this . . . for bill and /kânteyn/.

I: For containers, for boxes or something like that? I'm thinking of a box or a can. (Target word: counting) (abacus)

2. S: When you /aeprâyz/ more, much more a person

K: O.K., to prize highly . . . to, I have to say, honour (Target word: praise) (flattery)

B. Morphologically Deviant Lexical Items. The stem of the word is correct but the wrong form of the item is given, eg., farmer for farm:

S: You use it in the farmer.

I: In the where?

S: In the farmer.

I: Oh, I see what you mean. A scarecrow.

C. Semantically Deviant Lexical Items. The speaker offers a word, which is not semantically accurate, for the target item.

1. Use of the Wrong Word. The word provided by the subject is a correct word on its own, but is not the right word for the given context. Examples:

S: It's a thing like that, like that man used in flat and that of . . . afraid the, the bird . . . don't eat.

I: It's something used off the bird?

S: In the, eh . . . in the flat.

I: Oh, in the apartment, in the flat. (Target word: farm) (scarecrow)

Other examples of lexical error included the use of: "tablets", "beans" and beads for seeds; dice for beads; and soldering for sewing.

2. Semantic Approximation. A given word, which is semantically related to the target word but does not exactly communicate the speaker's intended meaning (= Semantic Contiguity), may be distracting to the interlocutor. For example, the use of park for farm or stone for dust.

S: Sweeping in the, in the stone and put in it.

I: Stones?

S: Yeah! (dust pan)

III. Syntactic Problems. Only one instance of the subjects' numerous syntactic errors entered the interactional process. In this example, the subject's use of active form instead of a passive form, which changes the agent of the action, was misleading to the interlocutor:

S: When someone goes to . . . eh . . . and kill a . . . in war. That country said he is . . . what happens to him?

I: When someone kill . . .

S: Kill in war . . . war, and eh, people said that that he is a ---_____?

I: A hero.

S: Not hero . . . eh, after . . . after kill what happened for him? (martyrdom)

Implications for L2 pedagogy

The results of this study lend support to the belief that a primary goal of L2 teaching should be developing the learners' survival skills for the negotiation of meaning in communication situations. The results also support the notion that students' success in getting the message across should be given evaluational priority over grammatical accuracy at the early stages of L2 learning (also suggested by Terrell 1977, 1981). Other criteria that could be used for the evaluation of learners' communicative performance may include: the number of trials (ie., speed) in conveying the message, flexibility in the use of linguistic forms, and knowledge of appropriate lexical connotations in the TL.

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Appendix A

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Grammatical and Oral Proficiency Scores of the Two Learner Groups

	Michigan Test Of English Language Proficiency (written)		IEA Test of Proficiency in English (oral)	
Groups	M	SD	M	SD
G1 N=20	54.45	4.40	31.03	7.84
G2 N=20	92.45	3.44	68.32	12.11

Appendix B

Summary of the Taxonomy of Communication Strategies

- I. Linguistic Approach (CN+AN)*
  - A. Semantic Contiguity (CN+AN)
    - 1. Superordinate (CN+AN)
    - 2. Comparison (CN+AN)
      - a) Positive Comparison (CN+AN)
        - i) Analogy (CN+AN)
        - ii) Synonymy (CN+AN)
      - b) Negative Comparison (CN+AN)
        - i) Contrast and Opposition (CN+AN)
        - ii) Antonymy (AN)

  - B. Circumlocution (CN+AN)
    - 1. Physical Description (CN)
      - a) Size
      - b) Shape
      - c) Colour
      - d) Material
    - 2. Constituent Features (CN+AN)
      - a) Features
      - b) Elaborated Features
    - 3. Locational Property (CN)
    - 4. Historical Property (CN)
    - 5. Other Features (CN+AN)
    - 6. Functional Description (CN)

  - C. Metalinguistic Clues (CN+AN)

- II. Contextual Approach (CN+AN)
  - A. Linguistic Context (CN+AN)
  - B. Use of TL Idioms and Proverbs (AN)
  - C. Transliteration of LI Idioms and Proverbs (CN+AN)
  - D. Idiomatic Transfer (CN+AN)

- III. Conceptual Approach (CN+AN)
  - A. Demonstration (CN+AN)
  - B. Exemplification (CN+AN)
  - C. Metonymy (AN)

- IV. Mime (CN+AN)
  - A. Replacing Verbal Output (CN+AN)
  - B. Accompanying Verbal Output (CN)

* CN (concrete nouns)
AN (abstract nouns)

Appendix C

Table 1

Types and Numbers of Learner Group's Grammatical Errors that Entered the Interactional Process

Type of Error	Number of Errors			
	G1 (n = 13)	No. of Subjects	G2 (n = 3)	No. of Subjects
I. Phonological	25	12	3	3
II. Lexical	22	10	1	1
A. Phonologically deviant	6	4	0	0
B. Morphologically deviant	2	2	0	0
C. Semantically deviant	14	8	1	1
1. Use of the wrong word	11	8	1	1
2. Semantic approximation	3	2	0	0
III. Syntactic	1	1	0	0
Total	48	13	4	3

Table 2
Number of Learners Groups' Grammatical Errors that Entered the Interactional Process

G1		G2	
No. of Errors	No. of Subjects	No. of Errors	No. of Subjects
0	7	0	17
1	1	1	2
2	4	2	1
3	3		
4	2		
5	2		
12	1		

Appendix D

Table 1

Inappropriate Use of Synonyms by Subjects Using Synonymy Only

Range	G1	G2	G3
0	0	4	15
1-2	11	7	4
3-4	1	1	0
5-6	1	0	0
6+	0	0	0
Total	13	12	19

Table 2

Group Mean Percentages and Standard Deviations for Inappropriate Use of Synonyms

Group	M%	SD	N
1	89.74	19.88	13
2	35.14	36.29	12
3	8.77	17.89	19

Table 3

Percentages of Immediate Success of Subject Groups in the Use of Synonymy

Group	# Syn.	Immediate Succes	
		#	%
1	35	4	11.43
2	42	8	19.05
3	39	13	33.33

Appendix E

Table 1

Mean Percentages of Repetition Types Among Subjects Using Repetition

	Type of Repetition								
	Type 1[a]			Type 2[b]			Type 3[c]		
Groups	No. of Subjects	No. of Rep.	M%	No. of Subjects	No. of Rep.	M%	N. of Subjects	No. of Rep.	M%
G1 N=20	19	154	63.24	19	54	27.34	10	20	9.42
G2 N=20	16	101	56	14	51	34.3	8	12	9.7
G3 N=20	10	21	50.5	10	17	40.9	4	4	8.6

[a] Type 1 = Exact Repetition

[b] Type 2 = Old Information in a New Form

[c] Type 3 = Old and New Information

Appendix F

Table 1

Mean Percentages of Giving up Pattern Among Subjects and Interlocutors

	Subjects		Interlocutors		Both		Total
Group	M%	No. of Failures	M%	No. of Failures	M%	No. of Failures	No. of Ss who Failed
G1	48.3	29	24.9	13	26.7	12	18
G2	10.3	4	47.5	13	42.2	17	12
G3	12.5	1	87.5	4	0	0	4

APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF WORKING MEMORY TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE LISTENING COMPREHENSION

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ABSTRACT

Memory research has recently moved from looking at performance in highly artificial laboratory tasks to increasing inspection of tasks occurring in everyday life. One consequence of the new emphasis is the development of the concept of "working memory". For the learner, foreign-language understanding is a task that places high demands on working memory capacity. Comprehension of a heard message requires, at every point in time, knowledge of the results or progress of earlier or parallel information processing stages, like phonological analysis, word recognition, parsing, etc., as well as of expectations. The working memory framework proposed by Baddeley and Hitch (1974; Baddeley 1983) provides us with a starting point for asking questions about how the learner can try to cope with temporarily storing enough information to be able to comprehend a message in an incompletely mastered language.

1. Introduction

Cognitive psychologists have been accused of having replaced the behaviourist black box with more or less complicated flow charts of equally vague boxes usually given labels ending in "store" or "processing". These boxes are connected with even more mysterious objects marked with innocent-looking arrows (cf. Allport 1980). On the whole this criticism is not totally unwarranted, but an attempt will be made here to show that a system of boxes with all its question marks can still be a useful starting point for asking questions eg. about foreign language understanding. More precisely an attempt will be made to show that the working memory framework developed by Alan Baddeley and Graham Hitch (eg. Baddeley and Hitch 1974; Baddeley 1983) can serve as a basis for research in how we deal with a message communicated orally in a foreign language.

The most popular view of human information processing in the 1970's was one based on a three-box memory system. Referring to Murdock, Alan Baddeley has called it and its derivatives the modal model. It assumes that all sensory information is first stored in a more or less "raw" form in a sensory register. The visual register, called iconic memory, decays in half a second, while the auditory store or echoic memory can hold a trace for several seconds. The original sensory trace is then filtered, categorized and associated with information already in the memory before it is entered into the next box, called short-term memory (STM). By now a considerable amount of information has been lost. STM is characterized by limited capacity originally estimated in "chunks" of information of any kind (ie. units like letters, digits, words, or the like) (Miller 1956). Material can stay there for up to 30 seconds unless it is pushed out by new material. It can also be re-entered by rehearsal an unlimited number of times. Rehearsal has been thought to enhance transfer to long-term memory (LTM), a more or less permanent memory store (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1971. Information in LTM can be reactivated in STM when needed.

The problem of finding the material wanted cannot, however, always be solved, at least in the time allocated for retrieval. This is the main (if not only) reason for forgetting from LTM. The prototype of the modal model of memory can be seen in Figure 1. Most text-books in cognitive psychology describe a variant of this model, though nearly all of its original assumptions have now been qualified. A major change in emphasis has, for instance, led to the postulation of "top-down" arrows to show that information in LTM probably affects stimulus analysis.

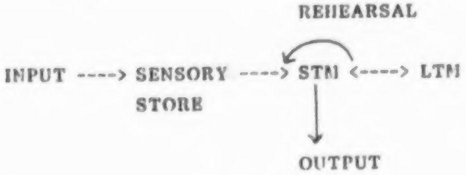

Figure 1. A prototype model of information flow between memory components.

2. Objections to the view of STM as a limited-capacity general processor

The modal model of memory makes STM with its limited capacity an obvious bottle-neck for all information processing. As it has also been generally assumed that STM can be equated with the memory working space needed for performing tasks requiring temporary storage of information, STM has gained a central position in the model as the place where it all happens. In the 1980's however, a number of the assumptions concerning STM have been questioned or simply proved not to hold.

Allport (1980), for instance, has convincingly argued that there is little evidence for the existence of general capacity of the kind that STM has been assumed to possess. Instead, capacity seems to be more or less content-specific (how content-specific remains, however, unanswered).

The capacity limits of STM, at least for the storage of verbal material, do not seem to be set by the number of chunks, but rather by processing time (Baddeley, Thomson and Buchanan 1975). The more units it is possible to process (eg. mentally rehearse) in a limited period of time, the more units there is room for.

Nor does STM seem to meet the requirements of being a working memory. Temporary memory required in many tasks does not show typical STM characteristics (eg. Klapp, Marshburn and Lester 1983).

Lastly, one of the best-known effects thought to depend on STM, ie. the tendency to remember the last members of a list better than the middle ones, appears not to be a STM phenomenon at all (eg. Crowder 1982) but possibly something to do with the size of retrieval search sets based on order information (Glenberg and Swanson 1986).

3. Working memory as a central coordinator and a set of slave systems

A constructive attempt to try to reconcile memory theory with recent experimental data is the working memory model put forward by Baddeley and Hitch (1974; Baddeley 1981; Baddeley 1983). Basically the model consists of a limited general attentional capacity unit called the central executive working with a number of content-specific systems. The central executive can be used for control processes, strategy selection, and possibly additional storage. Its precise characteristics are, however, left open, as it is empirically difficult to study it in isolation.

The central executive controls a number of 'slave systems' consisting of active and passive components. The active components are defined as those involving active rehearsal. This makes it possible to keep their contents in store by continually refreshening the trace. Traces in passive stores, on the other hand, fade as a function of time or get pushed out by incoming material. Active stores do, however, feed into passive stores making it possible to use them as rehearsal components in loops comprising an active and a passive component.

At the moment the most investigated slave system is that termed the articulatory loop. It is assumed to consist of a passive phonological input store and an active subvocal rehearsal system. This two-component verbal working memory system can be used to explain a number of well-documented processing phenomena (see Baddeley 1983). It accounts for the finding that phonologically similar-sounding letter names or words are harder to remember than more dissimilar-sounding material (Conrad and Hull 1964). Presumably, keeping the traces of different but similar-sounding items distinct is a problem.

The articulatory loop also accounts for the fact that the number of words that can immediately be repeated depends on their length (Baddeley, Thomson and Buchanan 1975). Shorter words can be pronounced more quickly, which means that more words fit into the time-limited articulatory loop and can subsequently be reproduced.

The articulatory loop can also be used to explain why unattended speech requiring no response seems to disturb the reading of visually presented material. Apparently it interferes with the translation of visual representations into phonological representations for subsequent rehearsal.

The investigation of the articulatory loop system relies heavily on experimental techniques using articulatory suppression. The subjects are asked to continuously repeat a syllable or count to a certain number concurrently with the performance of the experimental task. This is assumed to prevent subvocal articulatory rehearsal, ie. block the articulatory loop. The effects of this procedure can then be observed as compared with unconstrained performance on the task.

Experiments using the articulatory suppression technique have revealed a number of phenomena of interest. The effect of unattended speech on visually presented material disappears under articulatory suppression. This presumably means that the phonological code that is disturbed during reading is created by articulatory translation, while another route is used under articulatory suppression. The word-length effect on immediate verbal memory span practically disappears as well, which suggests its articulatory origin. The phonological similarity effect is abolished with visually presented material but not with aurally received material. This can be interpreted as supporting the conclusion that a phonological representation with visually presented words is created via an articulatory one, whereas heard material has direct access to the phonological store (Salamé and Baddeley 1982; Baddeley, Lewis and Vallar 1984).

Another slave system that has attracted attention and research effort is what is called the visuo-spatial scratch-pad. It is supposed to be a system specializing in temporary storage of visuo-spatial information. Interference techniques to study the visuo-spatial scratch-pad involve making the subjects look at, or make judgments about, abstract check patterns (eg. Logie 1986). Possibly this slave system could also be used to hold orthographic representations of words, though this has not to my knowledge been looked at. An educated guess can, however, be based on experiments showing interference between visually presented verbal material and mental images compared to aurally presented sentences and visual images (Glass, Millen, Beck and Eddy 1985). Tasks assumed to tax visuo-spatial scratch-pad capacity have also been shown to interfere with the processing of visual images connected to pairs of words (Baddeley and Lieberman 1980).

In addition to the articulatory loop and the visuo-spatial scratch-pad, other slave systems can also be conceived of. My own rather wild guess is that there is some temporary store for representing eg. rhythm, possibly connected to a motor output store or the articulatory loop. There might also be a store for non-speech sounds or for non-spatial visual information like colour. Reisberg, Rappaport and O'Shaughnessy (1984) have gone as far as suggesting that an unlimited number of motor systems with a feed-back component can serve as additional working memory slave systems. In the name of parsimony it seems, however, sensible to proceed by analysing tasks using a minimum number of postulated systems to see what they account for. Assuming a number of new slave systems on loose grounds obviously makes the explanatory value of the model rapidly crumble.

4. What happens in foreign language understanding? some speculations

The working memory model was developed to explain and predict performance in everyday information processing tasks (cf. Baddddeley 1983). For it to be useful in any one case, we have to describe the structure of the task to seen what kind of demands it might place on working memory capacity. Language understanding is a complicated and far from fully understood task. The lack of understanding is revealed in eg. the inadequacy of present attempts to explain different defects in speech and text understanding caused by brain damage.

One way of learning more about the cognitive processes involved in language understanding could by by looking at the similar task of understanding a foreign language when it is still not very well mastered. The two tasks can be described using some widely accepted assumptions about human information processing. The task descriptions can then be used to predict differences in performance of the two tasks.

Text and speech in the native language are characterized by a high degree of redundancy. Years of intensive practice with production and reception have probably resulted in the internalization of the distribution of co-occurences on the phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic levels of language as well as in prosody. In other words, native speakers are familiar with the patterns of their language and know how common they are. Command of a foreign language, on the other hand, suffers from gaps in knowledge on all these levels. In addition, the frequency representations for co-occurring units are based on too small and often unrepresentative samples of the foreign language.

High redundancy makes it possible for native language understanders to heavily rely on top-down processing, ie. on using their knowledge of language structure to predict what they should hear next. This way internal models of language can be seen to guide the identification of speech units. Consequently the need for absolutely accurate analysis of the physical stimulus is diminished.

The internal models representing knowledge of a foreign language, however, would be far from complete or accurate for an intermediate-level learner. This should entail a considerably greater dependence on bottom-up analysis starting from the acoustic features of the speech signal. As some units, eg. words, of the speech signal would lack an internal representation altogether, ie. be unfamiliar to the listener, understanding of the message would depend on less information available than in the case of understanding utterances in the native language. Consequently the learner can be assumed to be under pressure to attempt identification of eg. every word in an utterance, as some of the attempts are bound to fail and it is crucial for the learner to recognize enough words and syntactic cues to be able to guess utterance and discourse meaning. Additional difficulty in foreign language understanding could derive from the learner's top-down processing going wrong. Backtracking is a time-consuming process and depends on an accurate record of the received speech signal.

Native language understanding could then be roughly described as a process dominated by top-down hypothesis testing based on overlearned representations, the handling of which is extremely fast and mostly unconscious. Consequently interpretation of the speech signal demands little processing capacity and the listener can concentrate on understanding the message. This can, for instance, be described in terms of building a mental model to represent the information (cf. Johnson-Laird 1983).

Understanding something said in a less well learned language, on the other hand, would be dominated by storage of intermediate results of the interpretive process and maintenance of a true-to-life representation of the "raw" signal to win time for slow analysis and make reinterpretations possible when necessary. Probably longer stretches of language including only partly recognized material would have to be temporarily stored before an attempt at a final interpretation of them could be made. This would lead to constant overloading of the working memory, which would then be seen eg. in interference between mental model building reflecting understanding of the message and lower-level speech processing. Lastly, setting up an internal representation for the received signal is in itself probably slower and more capacity demanding in a less familiar language.

It seems then that successful comprehension is much harder in an incompletely mastered language than in one's own. This is, of course, what every language learner knows. The description makes it possible, however, to predict what kind of language should be especially difficult. It also makes it possible to ask questions about the strategies the language learner could use to cope with the situation.

5. What has Baddeley's working memory model to do with foreign language processing?

From the description above it is clear that the foreign language understander is in trouble. The acute difficulty is at least partly caused by his/her working memory being overloaded. If the language understander were given unlimited time, as in normal reading, the task would probably be easier. Reading comprehension can, however, not be compared with listening comprehension, as the low-level stimulus analysis needed in spoken word recognition does not have to be carried out in decoding written language.

Baddeley's working memory model helps us to differentiate between different kinds of working memory capacity. We can use it to ask questions about which slave systems the foreign language understander uses to cope with ON-LINE tasks. Finding answers involves using selective blocking techniques like articulatory suppression or some visual task to see how performance in a language understanding task is impaired when a particular slave system is put out of action. Another way is to compare the effects of selective blocking on native and foreign language comprehension. If, for instance, foreign language understanding depends on the use of orthographic representations of words in order to add visuo-spatial-scratch-pad capacity to the articulatory-loop capacity possibly already used up, a visual interference task might interrupt foreign language comprehension more than native language understanding. If the language understander, on the other hand, resorts to some form of simultaneous translation to be able to rely on the more automatized handling of the native language, performance could be enhanced by a presentation of native language translation equivalents of keywords in the heard utterance. The effect of these could be compared with that of keywords written in the foreign language or that of differently spelt homonyms.

Another line of questions has to do with how different compensatory strategies aiming at optimizing use of working memory capacity affect the understanding of the message. One might assume, for instance, that reliance on orthographic representations of words would slow down processing of sentences conveying visual information.

A third set of questions arises from the results that point to capacity being time-limited (Baddeley, Thomson and Buchanan 1975). How important is it to be able to quickly generate articulatory and orthographic representations of words? Do these abilities have a direct connection with listening comprehension and other language tasks? Answers to these questions are quite important when decisions are made on what aspects of language should be stressed when tuition first begins.

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THINKING AS A COMPONENT OF LANGUAGE UNDERSTANDING

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ABSTRACT

In contemporary cognitive psychology the relationship between reading achievement and verbal processing abilities has been considered. Because receiving a text is a highly complex activity, it has been difficult to determine which component processes really are important in text understanding. In psychological research the components of verbal processing are usually borrowed from earlier studies and measured by well known psychological tests such as memory span, associative learning, semantic association and recording speed and accuracy. In addition to the ability to code verbal information, the ability to utilize coded information should be taken into account. People simply do not receive texts or other verbal messages in a mental vacuum, but the understanding of verbal information depends on the activation of earlier knowledge in memory. No standardized tests are available for measuring this.

In this study three tasks were developed. In a free elaboration task subjects were asked to produce elaborations on sentences. In a context inferencing task they put sentences in different contexts, and in a causal inferencing task they inferred alternative reasons for events. Language understanding was measured by using the number of essential ideas recalled from an expository text. The tasks were given to 138 elementary school pupils and 54 undergraduate students. The results indicate that elaborative thinking is one basic component of language understanding. The differences in the self-generated elaborations between good and poor text understanders are presented, and the possibilities for helping poor text understanders to practise their elaborative skills at school are discussed.

1. Introduction

The understanding of language depends on the activation of earlier knowledge in memory. By the aid of activated knowledge, vivid images are created from a few words, separated sentences are seen as the parts of a meaningful whole, and the reasons of actions are understood. This sort of thinking or commonsense reasoning is so characteristic for human beings that it has not earlier been seen problematic or worth of scientific research.

However, people interpret language differently, hence they construct different kinds of representations of the same verbal information. This could result also in qualitatively and quantitatively different elaborations. The different possibilities to elaborate on a single sentence can be classified as follows:

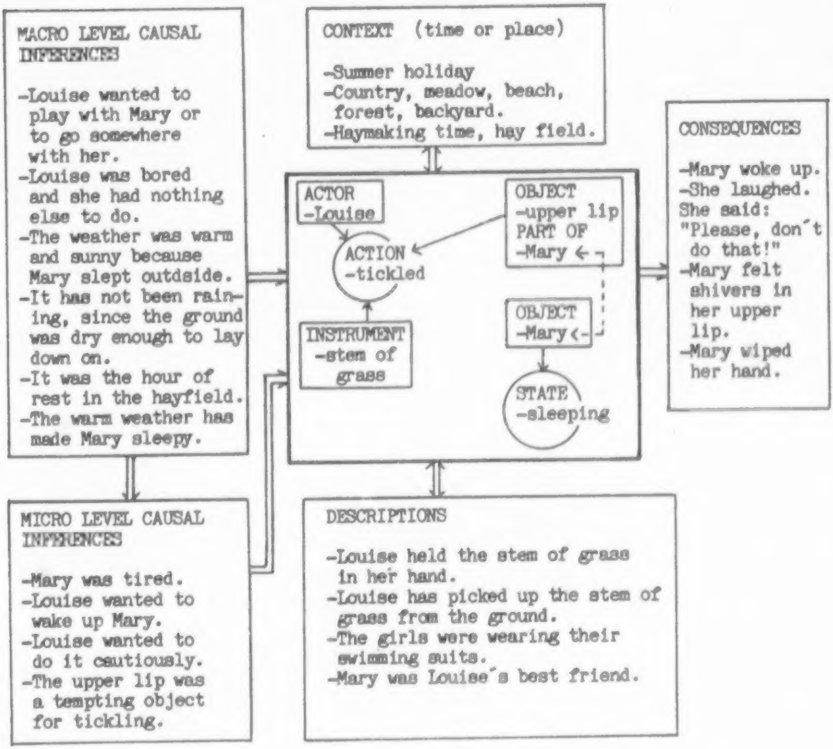
At first, we can make descriptive elaborations by connecting properties of states with ACTOR, ACTION, OBJECT, INSTRUMENT or other cases of the sentence (see Figure 1). Secondly, we can make contextual elaborations by specifying the time or place of the whole event in question. Thirdly, we can make micro level causal inferences by telling why the ACTOR is doing the ACTION on the basis of the definition of the verb or some other word of the sentence. The forth possibility is to infer reason or cause of the ACTION at the macro level. In this case the elaboration is based on some wider context which the sentence has been put in. The fifth possibility is to continue the sentence by telling what will happen after the ACTION, or what the consequence of the ACTION is.

It can be said that elaborations come from schemata (Bartlett 1932), scripts, goals, and plans (Schank and Abelson 1977), frames (Minsky 1980), pseudo texts (Wilks 1980), or other high level knowledge structures of memory (Schank 1982). But who knows what these structures really look like, or how they are organized? It is also problematic how elaborations become active, ie. what the mechanism is which evokes them. Thirdly, how does the ability to elaborate develop? And furthermore, in what way is this ability connected with text understanding? Do children with different abilities to understand verbal information differ in how automatically they elaborate on sentences they receive? Are some elaborations more important than others, and if they are, then why?

Two types of elaborations will be considered here: CONTEXTUAL ELABORATIONS and CAUSAL INFERENCES. To elaborate contexts means to activate whole knowledge structures in memory, which structures in turn provide expectations and "interpretation routines" for further processing (see Schank 1982). In case of causal inferences the elaborated earlier knowledge gives an explanation for the event in question (see Anderson 1980).

Since texts are received sentence by sentence, it may be reasonable to look for connections between the ability to elaborate on single sentences and the ability to understand the essential information of a text. The

SENTENCE: Louise tickled the upper lip of the sleeping Mary with a stem of grass.



MACRO LEVEL CAUSAL INFERENCES

- Louise wanted to play with Mary or to go somewhere with her.
- Louise was bored and she had nothing else to do.
- The weather was warm and sunny because Mary slept outdside.
- It has not been raining, since the ground was dry enough to lay down on.
- It was the hour of rest in the hayfield.
- The warm weather has made Mary sleepy.

CONTEXT (time or place)

- Summer holiday
- Country, meadow, beach, forest, backyard.
- Haymaking time, hay field.

CONSEQUENCES

- Mary woke up.
- She laughed. She said: "Please, don´t do that!"
- Mary felt shivers in her upper lip.
- Mary wiped her hand.

MICRO LEVEL CAUSAL INFERENCES

- Mary was tired.
- Louise wanted to wake up Mary.
- Louise wanted to do it cautiously.
- The upper lip was a tempting object for tickling.

DESCRIPTIONS

- Louise held the stem of grass in her hand.
- Louise has picked up the stem of grass from the ground.
- The girls were wearing their swimming suits.
- Mary was Louise´s best friend.

Figure 1. Some examples of different types of elaborations. The case relations of the given sentence are presented in the inner box of the figure.

purpose of the present study was to see whether students who are skillful in text understanding are able to produce more elaborations on single sentences, and which of the self-generated elaborations could contribute to text understanding.

2. Methods

How differences in sentence elaborations are reflected in language understanding was studied by using three types of elaboration tasks. In the free elaboration task subjects were asked to produce as many elaborations as they could on the following separate sentences:

1. The clock rang, John yawned and yawned, and fumbled for the light switch.
2. Their Volvo was also standing there among the other five hundred cars.
3. A town extended whitely everywhere, the snow covering the roofs of the houses was really sparkling.
4. Louise tickled the upper lip of the sleeping Mary with a stem of grass.

In the context inferencing task subjects were asked to put the following sentences into as many alternative situations as possible:

1. (S)he spread (something on something).
2. (S)he pressed the button.
3. A loud sound was heard.
4. (S)he checked that everyone had a ticket.

In the causal inferencing task alternative explanations for the following events were asked for:

1. The bike was broken because ...
2. (S)he became happy because ...
3. The man sawed industriously because ...
4. The bird made a long moaning sound because ....
5. (S)he stayed alone / (s)he was left alone / because ...
6. The train was late because ...

Text understanding was measured by using the number of essential ideas recalled from an expository text as a score. The content of the text selected was funerals in ancient Egypt, probably an unknown theme to Finnish schoolchildren. The length of the Finnish text was 232 words. In the text five services for the deceased were described so that the reasons for those services were explained. It was stressed in the text that the quality of those services was dependent on how rich the deceased had been. In addition to the description of the services, the text included four beliefs or dogmas typical of the Egyptian religion of that time plus some unessential details and examples of the things found in ancient graves.

2.1. Subjects

All the second graders from an elementary school participated in this study. The number of them was 84, 36 girls and 48 boys. They were born during the same calendar year, so that they were 8 or 9 years old. The tasks were also given to 54 sixth graders, 26 girls and 28 boys, who attended the same elementary school. Three sixth graders participated only in the text understanding task, so the number of sixth graders in all the three inferencing tasks was 51. In addition to the elementary school pupils, 54 undergraduate students from an introductory course in psychology participated in this study.

2.2. Procedure and scoring

The subjects were asked to make a summary of the text immediately after it was read to them. After that, they answered nine questions concerning the essential ideas of the text. Each subject got one point for every correct answer, whether it was found in her or his summary, or in her or his answers to the questions or in both of them. After the subjects had answered the questions, the free elaboration task was given to them. The next task was the context inferencing task, and the last task was the causal inferencing task.

The second graders were tested individually and their responses were tape-recorded. The latencies of the elaborations were measured from the tape. The sixth graders and university students were tested in group situations so that they wrote their summaries, answers, and elaborations in an answering sheet.

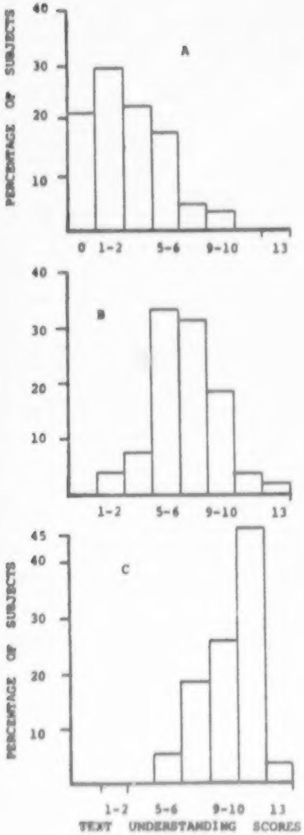
The elaborations from the free elaboration task were classified in five categories: descriptive elaborations, contextual elaborations, micro and macro level causal inferences, and consequences (see Figure 1). The number of the elaborations in each category was counted over the stimulus sentences. The number of the alternative situations produced in the context inferencing task and the number of the alternative explanations inferred in the causal inferencing task were counted so that only those alternatives were taken into account which belonged to different content categories. Two independent judges classified and counted the responses. The correlations between them varied from .63 to .92 (mean = .81; standard deviation = .09).

3. Results

The frequency distributions of the text understanding scores in the groups of the second and sixth graders and university students are presented in Figure 2. In the second grade the average score was 2.94 (standard deviation = 2.54). A total of 18 of the second graders (21 %) scored zero, whereas the other extreme group, the good text understanders in the second grade, did the task almost as well as the university students. In the sixth grade the distribution of the text understanding scores was almost normal, as was expected.

Most of the 18 poor text understanders in the second grade were extremely slow in elaboration (see Figure 3). The average time needed to give the first elaboration to the stimulus sentence in the free elaboration task was 14.5 seconds in this group, while the respective latency was 5.3 seconds in the group of good text understanders. Similar results were found in the context inferencing task and in the causal inferencing task.

In the free elaboration task the second graders with zero score in text understanding made fewer elaborations than the other pupils. The distribution of the elaborations in the different content categories is presented in Figure 4. The difference between good and poor text understanders in the second grade is significant beyond the level 0.01 in the categories of descriptive and contextual elaborations, in the category of macro level causal inferences, and in the category of consequences (see Figure 4). The good text understanders in the second grade produced approximately as many elaborations in the different categories as the sixth graders on an average. The comparison between the good text understanders in the second grade and the undergraduate students, who are used to learning abstract expository texts, shows the superiority of undergraduate students



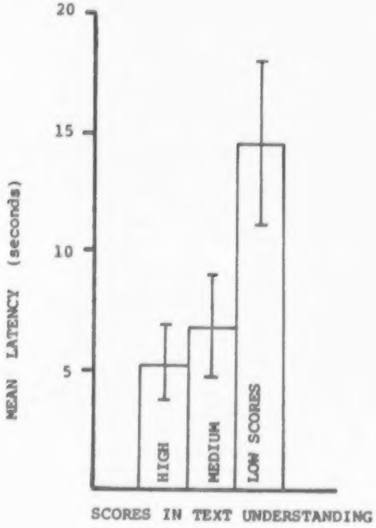


Figure 2. The frequency distributions of the text understanding scores in the second grade (A), in the sixth grade (B), and in the group of university students (C).

Figure 3. The mean latency of the first generated elaborations in the groups of second graders with high, medium, and low scores in text understanding. The difference between the groups with low and high scores is 9.26 seconds ($t = 5.11$; $df = 34$; $p < 0.001$).

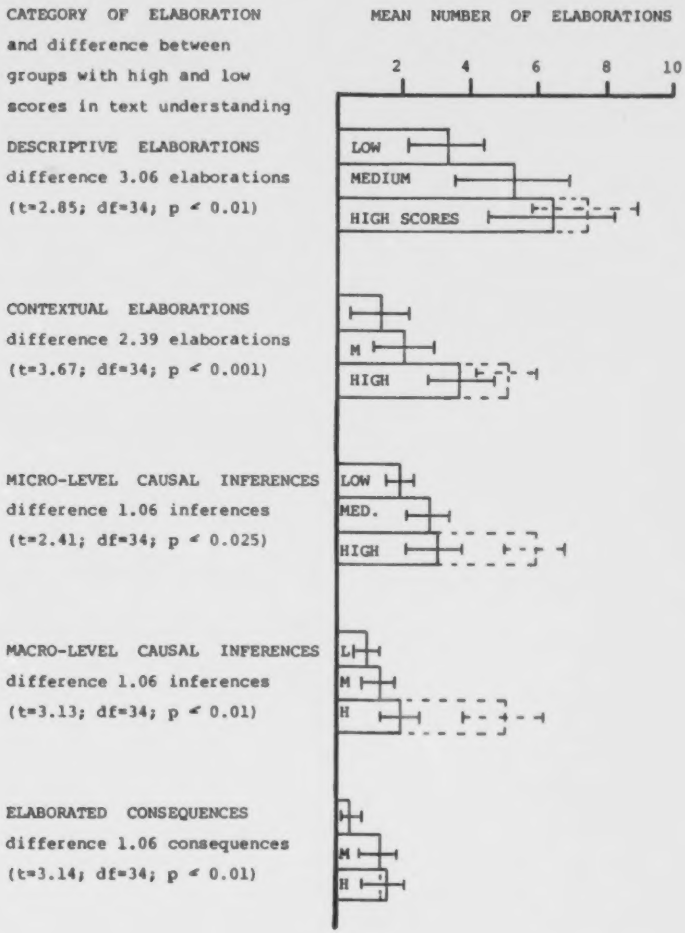


Figure 4. The mean number of the elaborations in different categories in the groups of second graders who got low, medium or high scores in text understanding. The figure (the solid columns) is based on 1,075 elaborations made by 84 pupils on 4 stimulus sentences. The dotted columns indicate the comparable means of the university students.

in the production of both micro and macro level causal inferences (see the dotted columns in Figure 4). This superiority is accentuated because these two groups do not differ significantly in the number of other kinds of elaborations.

In the causal inferencing task the good text understanders in the second grade inferred more alternative explanations than the poor text understanders, the difference between the means of the groups was 7.22 inferences ($t = 5.029$; $df = 34$; $p < 0.001$; see Figure 5). Also in the sixth

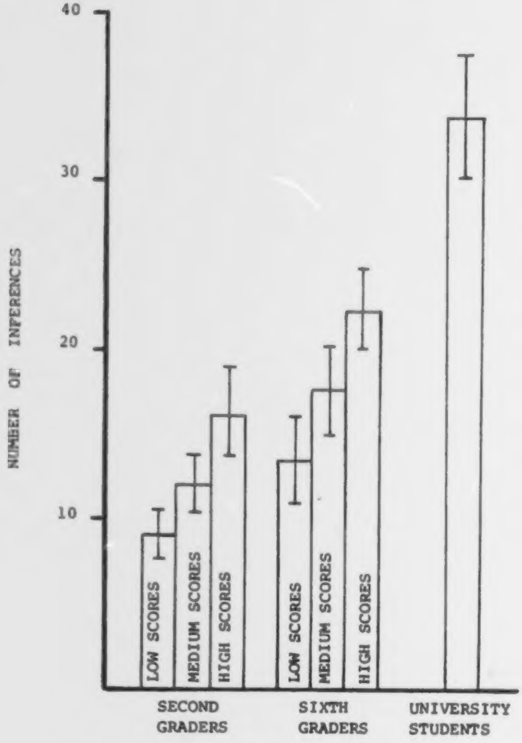


Figure 5. The mean number of the causal inferences which belong to different content categories in the groups of second and sixth graders and undergraduate students. The groups of second and sixth graders are further divided into three subgroups with low, medium, and high scores in text understanding. The figure is based on 3,764 inferences drawn by 189 subjects from 6 separate stimulus events. The bars represent one standard deviation.

grade the good text understanders produced more alternative explanations than the poor ones ($t = 4.149$; $df = 20$; $p < 0.061$; see Figure 5). Compared to the second and sixth graders the undergraduate students were superior in this task. In the group of undergraduate students the average number of the alternative explanations was 33.8, in the group of sixth graders it was 17.7, and in the group of second graders 12.4. However, there were no remarkable differences in the content of causal inferences between the groups.

In the context inferencing task the good text understanders in the second grade produced more alternative situations than the poor ones, the difference between the means of the groups being 4.34 alternatives ($t = 4.139$; $df = 34$; $p < 0.001$; see Figure 6). However, in the sixth grade the difference between the means of the extreme groups (2.55 inferences) was not statistically significant. The university students produced, on an average, 16.4 alternatives belonging to different content categories, when

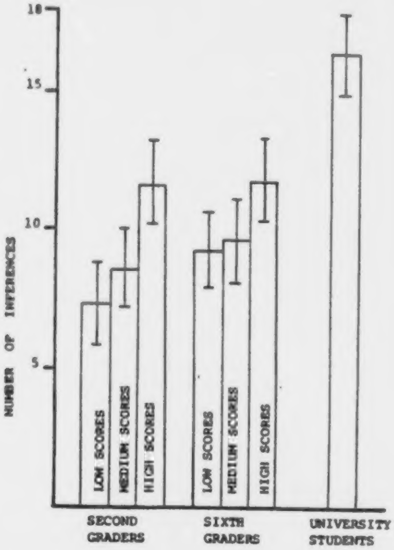


Figure 6. The mean number of the alternative contexts in different content categories in the groups of second and sixth graders and university students. The groups of second and sixth graders are further devided into three subgroups with low, medium and high scores in text understanding. The figure is based on 2,154 responses inferred by 189 subjects from 4 separate stimulus sentences. The bars represent one standard deviation.

the respective average was 10.0 in the sixth grade, and 9.0 in the second grade. Thus the difference between the university students and the school pupils was not so great in this task as in the causal inferencing task (compare Figures 5 and 6). There were no differences worth mentioning in the content of inferred situations between the groups.

The regression analysis where the text understanding scores are predicted by the number and latency of different types of elaborations was calculated from the scores of all 84 second graders (Table 1). The multiple regression model accounted for 53.6% of the total variance of the text understanding scores.

The number of the alternative explanations in the causal inferencing task was the best predictor in this model. The second best was the

TABLE 1

Stepwise Multiple Regression on Text Understanding

Step entered	Variable	R^2	Increase in R^2	F-value	sign. level
1	Alternative explanations in causal inferencing task	0.248	0.248	26.99	$p<0.01$
2	Contextual elaborations in free elaboration task	0.359	0.112	14.29	$p<0.01$
3	Latency of first responses in free elaboration task	0.452	0.093	13.78	$p<0.01$
4	Alternative situations in context inferencing task	0.455	0.002	0.342	-
5	Latency of first explanations in causal inferencing task	0.455	0.00001	0.001	-
6	Latency of first situations in context inferencing task	0.457	0.002	0.329	-
7	Elaborated consequences in free elaboration task	0.466	0.009	1.284	-
8	Macro level causal inferences in free elaboration task	0.476	0.010	1.463	-
9	Micro level causal inferences in free elaboration task	0.507	0.031	4.746	$p<0.05$
10	Descriptive elaborations in free elaboration task	0.536	0.029	4.636	$p<0.05$

number of contextual elaborations in the free elaboration task, ie. the number of the inferences by which the stimulus sentences were related to some time and/or place. The third predictor was the latency of the elaborations first given to the sentence in the free elaboration task. The next five variables did not significantly increase the amount of accounted variance in this model, due to the intercorrelations between the variables (see Table 2). However, the last two variables with the smallest correlations with the dependent variable, the number of the micro level causal inferences and the number of the descriptive elaborations in the free elaboration task have some effect on the coefficient of determination.

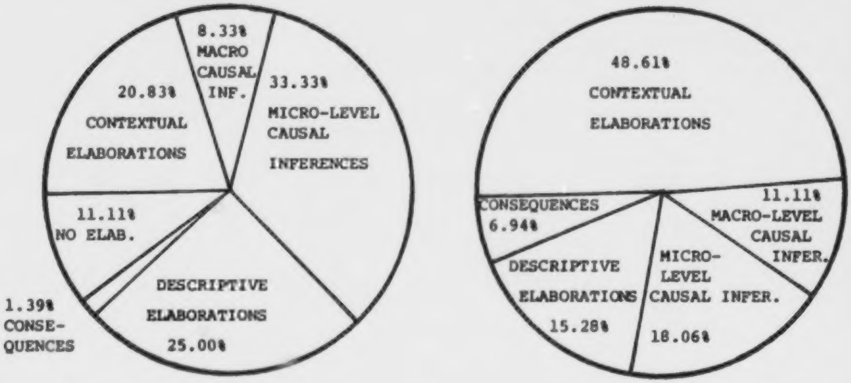
The correlation between the number of the alternative explanations in the causal inferencing task and the number of the alternative situations in the context inferencing task was 0.547 (see Table 2). The two tasks are quite similar, and they both measure the ability to activate and retrieve information from semantic memory. The rather high correlation (.562) between the number of the macro level causal inferences and the number of the contextual elaborations in the free elaboration task is not surprising, because it is not possible to produce macro level inferences without any wider context in mind. A wider context also gives more possibilities to describe events, which explains the rather high correlation between contextual and descriptive elaborations (r = .547).

The role of contextual elaborations in the free elaboration task is accentuated when the first elaborations are compared between the groups. Namely, the first thought which a sentence brings to mind may have the greatest effect on understanding in communicative situations, where texts go on at a normal speed without long breaks for elaborations. The percentual distribution of firstly generated elaborations is presented in Figure 7. In the group of poor text understanders the proportion of contextual elaborations is only about 20 per cent, whereas in the group of good text understanders nearly one in two of the firstly generated elaborations was contextual. The small proportion of contextual elaborations in the group of poor text understanders was compensated by the greater proportion of micro level causal inferences and descriptive elaborations. Some pupils in this group simply repeated some of the stimulus sentences without any elaborations; hence the percentage of no elaborations takes one sector in the circle (see Figure 7). The percentual distributions of first elaborations were nearly equal in the group of undergraduate students and in the group of good text understanders in the second grade (see Figure 7).

TABLE 2

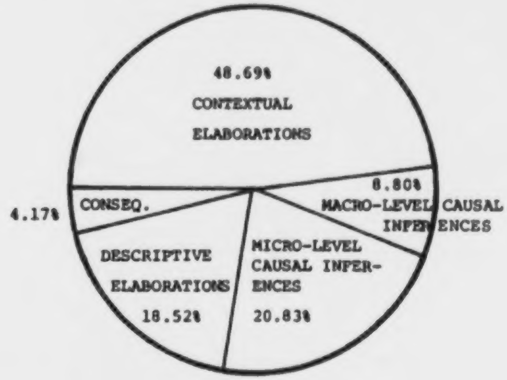
The intercorrelations between the latencies and numbers of different types of elaborations and text understanding scores for all 84 second graders

VARIABLE	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Alternative explanations in causal inferencing task	.336	-.396	.547	-.317	-.288	.146	.258	-.062	.243	.498
2. Contextual elaborations in free elaboration task		-.128	.200	-.163	-.093	.184	.562	-.032	.547	.482
3. Latency of first responses in free elaboration task			-.335	.524	.659	-.234	-.240	-.223	-.233	-.475
4. Alternative situations in context inferencing task				-.363	-.497	.261	.245	.108	.250	.357
5. Latency of first explanations in causal inferencing task					.542	-.080	-.181	-.145	-.314	-.316
6. Latency of first situations in context inferencing task						-.235	-.217	-.225	-.178	-.307
7. Elaborated consequences in free elaboration task							-.019	-.027	.263	.274
8. Macro level causal inferences in free elaboration task								.198	.445	.250
9. Micro level causal inferences in free elaboration task									.116	.219
10. Descriptive elaborations in free elaboration task										.218
11. Text understanding scores										



THE GROUP OF SECOND GRADERS WITH LOW SCORES IN TEXT UNDERSTANDING

THE GROUP OF SECOND GRADERS WITH HIGH SCORES IN TEXT UNDERSTANDING



THE GROUP OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

Figure 7. The percentages of different types of elaborations generated first in the free elaboration task. The figure is based on 360 responses made by 18 good and 18 poor text understanders in the second grade and 54 university students on 4 separate stimulus sentences.

4. Discussion

These results suggest a hierarchical model of language understanding (Figure 8). Contextual and descriptive elaborations are at the first level of the hierarchy. To elaborate contexts means to activate whole knowledge structures in memory, which structures in turn provide both EXPECTATIONS for further processing and IMPLICIT CONNECTIONS by which the coherence of a verbal message can be improved. Descriptive elaborations provide vivid images of events mentioned in verbal messages. In case of stories and literature it is not actually the language which is enjoyable but the mental images that will be evoked in the mind through the language.

Even at this first level people differ in their spontaneous elaboration activity. This is indicated by the extremely long latencies of some subjects in the group of poor text understanders.

The next level in understanding (see Figure 8) is the causal level, where in addition to the temporal succession of events, the whole chain of events will become reasonable. The superiority of undergraduate students in producing causal inferences even on very simple sentences indicates that the elaborative process itself has become more causal in nature.

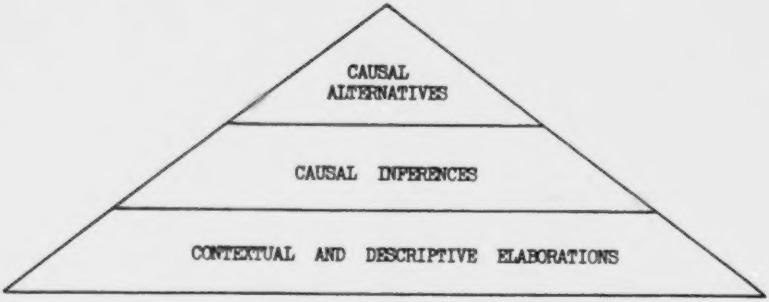


Figure 8. The hierarchical levels of language understanding.

At the highest level of understanding is the ability to infer and be aware of causal alternatives. Usually there is more than one possible reason for an event, and there are several ways to interpret the same event. In everyday life people can probably manage quite well without seeking interdependent, alternative or reciprocal reasons for events, but this skill is inevitably needed for the understanding of abstract expository texts. Furthermore, the ability to see alternative explanations may assist understanding by providing more possibilities to connect separate events or actions together.

In the present study poor text understanders were able to make all kinds of elaborations, although they made fewer of them than their classmates. This means that there is no need to be worried about how to teach pupils to elaborate and infer, but the point is how it is possible to make them think of the same kinds of elaborations and inferences as good text understanders make spontaneously. The studies by Stein et al (1982) and Hansen and Pearson (1983) also support this idea. Their results show that poor text understanders benefit from instruction to train elaborative and inferential skills, but good text understanders do not.

Quite simple instructional methods have proved successful in encouraging pupils to make spontaneous inferences in school classrooms. The activation of relevant knowledge structures in the memory of pupils has been guaranteed by asking them questions about their experiences and background knowledge of the topic before reading. Pupils have also been asked to guess what might happen in the story and to compare their prior expectations with the actual text. In discussions after the reading teachers have asked inferential questions focusing on the text information and its relationship to pupils' own experiences (see Hansen and Pearson 1983; Paris, Lipson and Wixson 1983).

Since poor language understanders are weaker in the production of all kinds of elaborations on simple sentences, it might be reasonable to teach and train them to elaborate. Pupils could be asked to infer some goals or reasons for the event mentioned in a sentence (like "the repairman went into the ironmonger's shop"). They could be asked to put this event in some time or place and describe both the actor and the other cases of the event. If pupils are also ready to tell some consequences of the event, they will end up having a story as a result of their elaborations. Further, pupils could make up their stories in small groups with different groups being given different contexts or reasons for the same events (eg. "the repairman needed some nails", "the ironmonger's shop was in bad condition", or "the repairman was going to invite the ironmonger to his birthday party"). If the groups were asked afterwards to tell their stories to the other groups, the pupils would see how the same sentence can be interpreted in different ways in different contexts. The main difference between the ordinary story telling or writing situation and the elaborative situation is that the pupils' metacognitive knowledge about different possibilities to elaborate on sentences can be utilized in a systematic way. Especially poor writers can be predicted to benefit from this practice and enjoy it. Indeed, in a preliminary experiment this was found to be the case (Laurinen 1986).

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WRITING AS A CONSTRUCT

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ABSTRACT

One of the most difficult problems facing researchers who study writing is how to define writing as a construct. The way writing is conceptualized determines how writing assignments are set and how written products are analysed and rated. The article presents a functional approach to defining writing as a construct. It starts from the overarching construct of writing activity and divides that into writing competence and writing preferences. Writing competence is defined to consist of discourse-constructing competence and text-producing competence. Discourse-contructing competence consists of cognitive competence (idea generation and organization) and social competence (norm awareness). Text-producing competence is defined to consist of linguistic competence and motor competence.

1. Some basic issues in research on writing

Several problems have occupied researchers who have been working on the teaching and assessment of writing. They include the following:

(1) How can writing ability be defined?

(2) Is writing ability one unified construct or can it be measured by measuring its different components?

(3) If writing ability is measured by way of components, how should they be weighted, if at all?

(4) How can good writing tasks be constructed?

(5) How can valid and reliable rating methods be developed?

In this paper I will deal with the first two questions. My interest in the construct of writing stems from my involvement for the past five years in the IEA International Study of Written Composition. It is study of students' achievement in writing in fourteen countries. One of the main concerns in the study has been the curricular validity and content representativeness of the writing tasks (for a discussion of these issues, see Vähäpassi in this volume) and the construct validity of the measures (scores) derived from the student responses to those tasks. Thus our main interest has not been similar to the recent discussion of the structure of foreign language competence (eg., Hughes and Porter 1983), in which it has been debated whether there exists only one undivisible, unitary, one-dimensional language competence or whether there are several dimensions. While we were aware of this debate, as an activity it seemed to lack ecological validity itself. It seemed to be too narrowly psychometric and incorporating a too simplistic psychological view while paying far too little attention to the sociological nature of language use. Applied to our case, to do interesting and useful research on writing, it seems necessary to take full account of the *functions* of writing and of the *tasks* of writing, of the *strategies and processes* of writing and of the *products* of writing and, finally, of the *readers* of produced texts.

2. A model of the construct of writing competence

The validity of writing assesment can best be addressed in terms of construct validity, content representativeness (or validity), and curricular validity. Since we do not have any clear notion of the psychological structure of writing, ie. how general or how task specific it is, construct validity can best be guaranteed by an analysis of the general features of writing situations and a resulting defensible specification of the domain of writing tasks. This is a *functional approach to construct validity*. It was used in the IEA International Study of Written Composition. In other words, since it is not easy to say directly what writing ability consists of, we chose to look at what functions writing has in general and in what situational contexts it occurs. This means that we have focussed on the initial conditions of writing and on its functions. This approach is derived from ideas expressed by de Saussure and Wegener[1] and further elaborated by Gardiner in *The Theory of Speech and Language* (1932) and by Jakobson (1960). The Finnish language scholar Rolf Pipping has dealt with similar topics in his *Sråk och stil* (1940), where he shows how styles are related to the relationships between the three extralinguistic factors (speaker/writer, listener/reader, topic) and the linguistic factor (text).

Another, complimentary approach has been more *genetic*. In other words, we have attempted to sketch the initial conditions that lead to a final product through a sequence of events (writing processes).

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[1] Wegener strongly emphasized the influence of the speech situation on the form of the linguistic expression.

Much of the discussion on language teaching and language testing seems to neglect ecological validity. As suggested above, language teaching and testing need to take a broad view of human activity, ie. to place language activities within the broader context of general human activity and purpose. It is important to consider what the constants, parameters and variables of language use are. Roughly speaking the constants are: sender/addressor, receiver/addressee/audience, topic, channel, and text. The parameters represent the sets of 'values' from which a number factual characteristics of the constants can be derived (eg. the identity of the writer and audience, the purpose of writing, assumed background knowledge, the perspective from which the topic is dealt with, etc.; for a more detailed discussion, see Purves et al. 1982). The variables are the modes of organization and the use of rhetorical and linguistic resources, which are influenced by the parameter configuration but which can still vary quite freely.

The present author made an attempt to define writing as a construct in a manner, which draws on the findings of modern cognitive psychology concerning discourse comprehension and builds on the discourse theory itself. The system developed can be summarized in a diagram (Figure 1) as follows (Takala 1983, 1985).

'Writing competence' or 'writing ability' can be operationalized as an ability to produce texts that cover the cells of the domain of writing (Vähäpassi 1983). A person may be able to write fluently a given type of discourse (eg. a story, a personal letter, an academic paper). Such a person may thus appropriately be called a competent or fluent story-writer, or letter-writer, but it is less clear if we can appropriately refer to him or her as a competent writer: the competence seems to be too limited to justify the epithet. To deserve the denomination of a competent writer, he needs to be able to write across a large range of tasks.

Writing competence, as a theoretical construct, can be argued to consist of two main components: discourse-structuring competence (or discourse-producing or rhetorical competence) and text-producing competence.

Discourse-structuring competence requires both cognitive and social competence. Cognitive competence refers to the cognitive ability to encode meanings and intentions effectively. It denotes the ability to generate discourse in which the units of thought and the units of language are related to each other in such a way that an appropriate structure of meaning is produced. The appropriateness is always dependent on the

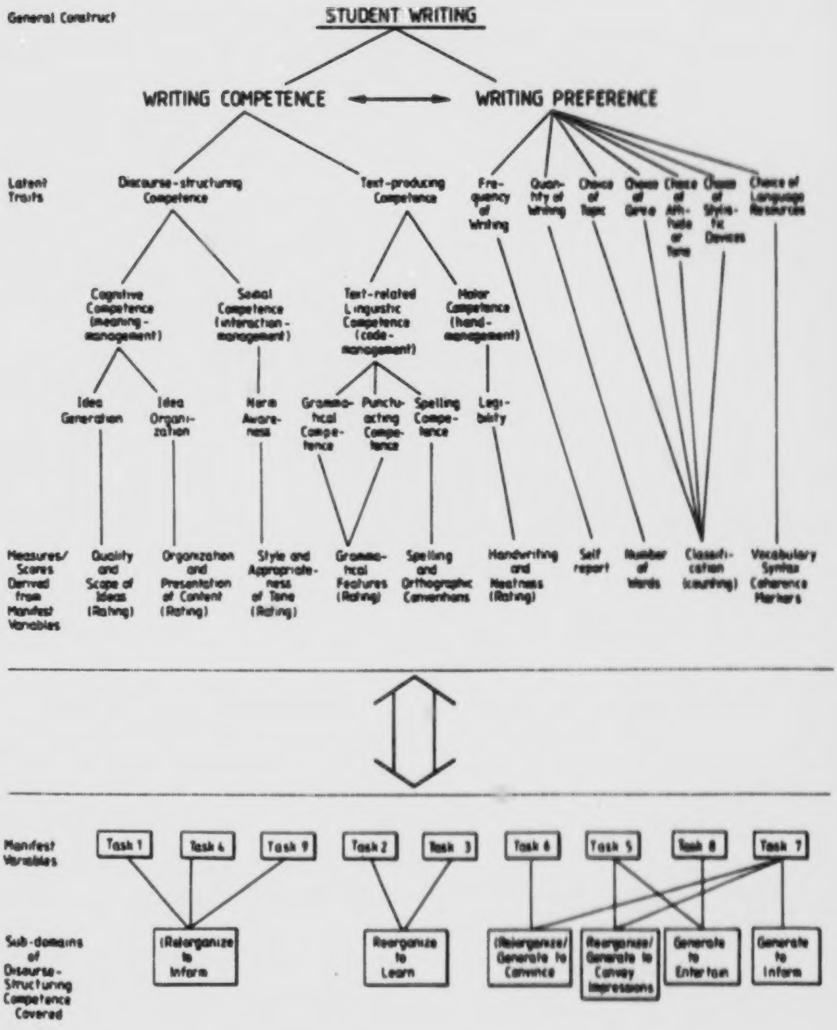
General Construct
STUDENT WRITING
WRITING COMPETENCE
WRITING PREFERENCE
Latent Traits
Discourse-structuring Competence
Text-producing Competence
Frequency of Writing
Quantity of Writing
Choice of Topic
Choice of Genre
Choice of Attitude or Tone
Choice of Stylistic Devices
Choice of Language Resources
Cognitive Competence (meaning-management)
Social Competence (interaction-management)
Text-related Linguistic Competence (code-management)
Motor Competence (hand-management)
Idea Generation
Idea Organization
Norm Awareness
Grammatical Competence
Punctuating Competence
Spelling Competence
Legibility
Measures/ Scores Derived from Manifest Variables
Quality and Scope of Ideas (Rating)
Organization and Presentation of Content (Rating)
Style and Appropriateness of Tone (Rating)
Grammatical Features (Rating)
Spelling and Orthographic Conventions
Handwriting and Neatness (Rating)
Self report
Number of Words
Classification (counting)
Vocabulary Syntax Coherence Markers
Manifest Variables
Task 1
Task 4
Task 9
Task 2
Task 3
Task 6
Task 5
Task 8
Task 7
Sub-domains of Discourse-Structuring Competence Covered
(Re)organize to Inform
Reorganize to Learn
(Re)organize/ Generate to Convince
Reorganize/ Generate to Convey Impressions
Generate to Entertain
Generate to Inform

Fig. 1. Scheme used in the IEA Writing Study for creating the scoring scheme.

intention of the writer and the nature of the intended audience as well as the topic dealt with: appropriateness is not a universal concept, it is always context- and situation-specific.

It is important that the writer is able to present ideas which are perceptive, relevant and clear for the audience of writing. This can be called (the ability of) *idea generation*. However, this is not sufficient. The ideas must also be arranged in a consistent and coherent way, so that a discourse type is recognized and the text is made intelligible. This can be designated as (the ability of) *idea organization*. It is not immaterial how the meaning is organized in a linear text. Ease of comprehension is usually better if the two coincide. It has also been shown (Brewer and Lichtenstein 1982) that events in a story have to be arranged in a certain order for the story to produce either suspence, surprise or curiosity in readers. Readers have genre-structural knowledge, and they expect sufficient conformity with typical genre schemata. Similarly, discourse has to be structured differently if the type of text to be produced changes from narrative to persuasion, to description, or to exposition.

Since writing is usually addressed to an audience other than self, discourse-structuring competence also presupposes *social competence*. The writer has to be aware of audience expectations (norms) and use an appropriate tone and style.

Text-producing competence can be divided into two parts: linguistic competence and motor competence. *Linguistic competence* consists of the ability to produce sentences using appropriate grammar, spelling and punctuation. *Motor competence* refers to the ability to produce an easily legible text.

In the IEA International Study of Written Composition both the overall impression and analytic ratings (cf. Figure 1) are used because they are complementary procedures, not mutually exclusive. The analytic ratings do not necessarily add up to the general impression, while more specific information is obtained if analytic ratings are also made.

The use of the same rating categories in all tasks is justified since content, organization, style, and linguistic correctness can all be distinguished in all discourse (perhaps their configurations do in fact define the range of text types), and the rater also tends to make an overall quality estimation. It has to be emphasized, however, that the *specific meaning of each category is defined task by task*. To take an example, the content clearly varies task by task, and the organization of a story is different from the organization of a reflective essay. As was stated above, even within the story genre the sequence of events has to be arranged in a different order depending on whether the aim is to bring about a response of suspence, surprise or curiosity in the reader. There is no a priori reason to assume that a writer automatically masters such discourse-organization skills. On the contrary, it is more likely that all these story organization patterns have to be learned through examples and through practice.

Similarly it is possible that the grammatical, punctuation and spelling skills vary from task to task to some extent. Different genres call for somewhat different types of syntactical structures (Perera 1984).

3. Other conceptual systems

Several systems have been proposed to be used in the evaluation of student writing. Many are based on long pedagogical traditions, but some are based on empirical studies. Perhaps the best known analytic scoring system is the one developed by Diederich (1974). The Diederich scale was developed empirically by using factor analysis. A sample of writing was scored by experts representing different disciplines. The factors extracted were: ideas, organization, wording, flavor, and mechanics. The last category is sometimes sub-divided into usage, punctuation, spelling, and handwriting. Each factor is rated on a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high), and ideas and organization are rated on a scale from 2 to 10 (ie. they receive a double weighting). Thus the scores can vary form 10 to 50.

Another example of an analytic scoring method is given by Quellmalz (1979). She defines an expository scale consisting of general impression, essay focus/main idea (the subject and main idea are clearly indicated), essay organization (the main idea is developed according to a clearly discernible method of organization), support (generalizations and assertions are supported by specific, clear supporting statements), and mechanics (the essay is free of intrusive and mechanical errors).

4. Conclusion

The IEA International Study of Written Composition offers a very good opportunity to test the developed model of writing as a construct. Fourteen different school systems (countries) representing a number of languages and cultures provide a vast corpus of student scripts, which have been scored using the same rating procedure. It remains an empirical question to test how general or specific writing ability is across age levels, across cultures, and across languages.

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GENERAL MODEL OF WRITTEN DISCOURSE AS A BASIS FOR A STUDY OF WRITING

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ABSTRACT

Before any descriptive study of student performance in writing can proceed it is necessary to make a conceptual clarification of the object of the study: writing in general and the domain of school-based writing. It is particularly important since the domain of written composition proves to be fairly diffuse and no generally accepted model is readily available.

After an analysis of the factors influencing writing an attempt is made to construct a general model which would present a balanced view of the domain of writing. The model has been developed for several purposes: (1) to describe and evaluate the types of written composition tasks used in different countries, (2) to evaluate the quality of the writing curriculum in schools, (3) to construct a questionnaire which explores teaching practices.

The model describes the domain of school writing in terms of two major dimensions: (a) the purpose of writing and (b) the cognitive processes related to writing. The purpose of writing relates to audience, and the level of cognitive processing to content.

1. Writing from a cultural and individual point of view

In discussing the study of written discourse it should at first be asked what distinguishes writing from other forms of language, such as speaking. The significance of written language from the point of view of cultural and personal development has been extensively analyzed in several articles by David Olson. According to Olson (1976: 1977), the invention of the alphabet and the development of writing gave Western culture most of its characteristic features, including a changed view of language and rationality. When language was transformed from the spoken made to the written one, the dominant picture of the world was also changed: language and reality were partly reorganized and reinterpreted. Similar views have been presented by Bruner (1968: 1972). According to him, written language frees people from a dependence on the immediate context.

Olson also draws our attention to the point that a transition from spoken to written language reduced the heavy reliance on memory and released cognitive capacity, so that more attention could be devoted to the meaning of statements and, especially, to the implications which can be drawn from written statements. When cultural heritage no longer needed to be transmitted to the new generation orally, relying solely on memory, it became possible to create original expressions. It also introduced the possibility of easy documentation, which was the first function of writing in societies. Subsequently, written language has typically served specialized cultural and civilizational purposes in those societies that have utilized the latent possibilities of language more fully by employing also written language. Such functions include, for example, literature, mass communication and research.

Both Vygotsky (1962) and Olson have emphasized that the cognitive development of an individual is manifested in a growing degree of ability to manage explicit meaning. Its starting point is utterance, which, however, specifies only part of meaning. Language development means that a child learns to master the conventions for transferring an increasing part of meaning into verbal mode. Thus a child moves from a situation in which two different meanings are conveyed by means of one identical expression to a situation in which meaning is transferred largely into sentences and text, ie. meaning becomes explicit (Bloom 1970). Writing makes it possible to produce text which is more autonomous and decontextualized than spoken text. Thus, the mastery of writing heralds a critical turning point in the entire cultural and cognitive development of children. Emig (1977) also supports the notion that writing is a unique form of learning.

However, some cross-cultural studies (eg., Scribner and Cole 1981) have indicated that the acquisition of literacy does not necessarily entail a generalized facilitation of higher cognitive processes. It seems more likely that the uses of literacy in society are of decisive importance. Thus the important question is who is literate in what languages for what purposes (Spolsky 1981).

It is reasonable to conclude then that what is important is the symbolic manipulation of experience through the use of the kind of language that possesses the characteristics which are typically, but not exclusively, found in written language. So, written language lends itself well to the kind of uses that tend to facilitate cognitive functioning.

In a discussion of the significance of writing from the individual's point of view, it should be emphasized that writing is an activity which often allows, and even presupposes, personal initiative and the making of choices. Through the writing process, a person's knowledge and experience may be enlarged. In addition to such self-development, writing can also help to maintain mental balance even if, on the surface, the writer is not directly concerned on a matter of personal experience but is writing "behind the mask".

V.S. Naipaul describes this aspect of writing in the following way.

> I do not think writing is simply a skill you acquire, like making a suit or building a house, and then practise forever. One is a changed man at the end of every book one writes: one has discovered depths of responses that one never knew existed before. One has undergone a great experience of patterning, moulding, discovering thoughts and emotions. And since one writes with every sense, one has to be physically fit - you cannot write if you are not feeling well, if you have to be totally alert - and the exercise of all the senses together over several months does alter one.

2. The concept of writing

2.1. Writing as a phenomenon

The writing situation can be interpreted from both a social and a congnitive perspective:

(a) Writing can be regarded as *an act of communication* about some topic between the writer and the reader. *This act of writing* has a purpose, as has all or most human activity.

(b) Writing can also be regarded as *a cognitive process* in which the writer presents and/or reflects on either *externally observable* or internally experienced reality.

When writing is viewed from the *social perspective*, understanding the purpose and the audience become paramount. In all writing situations the basic goal of writing is to convey some message to the reader. The message is the writer's personal point of view of the topic and it, in turn, may differ according to the writer's purposes: whether the intention is to inform, argue, convey feelings, etc. Still, we need to remember that in social writing situations it is by no means always up to the writer to freely choose the purpose, but s/he is, in fact, constrained by the writing task and its conventions in the society.

The writer produces a text alone, without the immediate feedback, cooperation or negotiation with the reader. This *monologue aspect of* writing is arguably the most important feature that distinguishes writing from face-to-face conversational interaction (Takala and Vähäpassi 1983).

Since the writer cannot have the readers' immediate feedback as a guide, writing imposes great demands on the communication through text. The text has to anticipate readers' possible responses (eg.,a lack or lagging of interest, comprehension and memory difficulties, objections, criticism, and deal with such such responses. In line with Grice's co-operative principle (Grice 1975), the writer and the reader are bound by mutual obligations: the writer is obligated to try to write a clear, relevant, truthful, informative, interesting and memorable text, while it is the reader's task to read the text and interpret it with due to regard to the writer's presumed purpose (intention).

From the point of view of communication, writers are always also readers of their own texts. Sometimes writing is only self-communication, which involves such reflection to clarify to writers themselves what they think (eg. Moffett 1984). Consequently, written language offers means not only for reflecting reality but also for creating reality, as Ricouer (1973) points out. Therefore the social and cognitive perspectives as determinants of the writing situation are clearly related to each other.

Viewed from the cognitive perspective, writing appears to be an immensely complex act, essentially inseparable from general thinking and learning. From the cognitive perspective, understanding the writing process becomes paramount. It proceeds roughly as follows:

Writers build their messages on ideas, observation and experiences. Before writing, they have to access them from their long-term memories and link them with new ideas. If the writing task is fact-oriented, they have to obtain new information, structure and evaluate it, and draw consistent conclusions from it. In situations of fictional writing, they may create new observations, experiences, milieux, or characters. This sequence of events can be called idea generation, and it will probably continue during the actual production of text. It can be identified with the first stage of divergent thinking: preparation, information gathering (eg., Guilford 1966, Flower and Hayes 1980).

The second stage of creative thinking is incubation, during which unconscious mental processes are going on. A similar process can be found in the writing process if writers have time to prepare their text. Often the writer's message takes shape during the incubation stage and the text-producing stage. There may occur a sudden insight, which is a unique experience for the writer although it may not be a new discovery for the reader.

However, in order to be able to convey the idea to the reader, the writer must be able to structure the information into a coherent whole. This ability can be called *idea organization*. It seems likely that the discovery of content often is accompanied by a suggestion of a possible textual form.

A writing task activates various kinds of *schemata* in the writer's long-term memory, ie. prototypical abstract knowledge structures which serve to process information in a way similar to concepts (eg., Rumelhart and Ortony 1977). From the point of view of text organization the most important are situation-based schemata and cognition-based schemata (eg., Brewer 1980, Nash 1980). The former are related especially to features of the communicative situation and the purpose of writing while the latter are linked more closely with rhetorical structures (eg., narrative, descriptive, expository). The mastery of such schemata determines to a large extent how well writers are able to manage their ideas and give shape to them.

The use of the written code itself sets distinct demands on writers: they have to process language on several levels (sentences, words and graphemes/letters) and to master the conventions of written language. Bereiter (1980) suggests that, in addition to genre schemata, the writer possesses schemata for language processing. This is not limited to the mastery of sentence structure, punctuation and spelling, but has to do with a deeper linguistic competence: the ability to recognize the special nature of writing as a medium for a generalized communication of messages, which transcends the here and now. It should make it possible to reach both a close and a remote addressee.

It does not seem an exaggeration to conclude from the foregoing discussion that writing resembles *a multi-level process of creative thinking* in which the writer has to be able to manage several kinds of skills at the same time. Through such a process, writers give linguistic expression to cognitive memory structures: experience, observations, and knowledge; and on the basis of them create an object of World Three (to use a term suggested by Karl Popper). This object of World Three, namely text, is or is not understood by the reader in line with the writer's purpose.

Schematically the above discussion can be presented as in Figure 1.

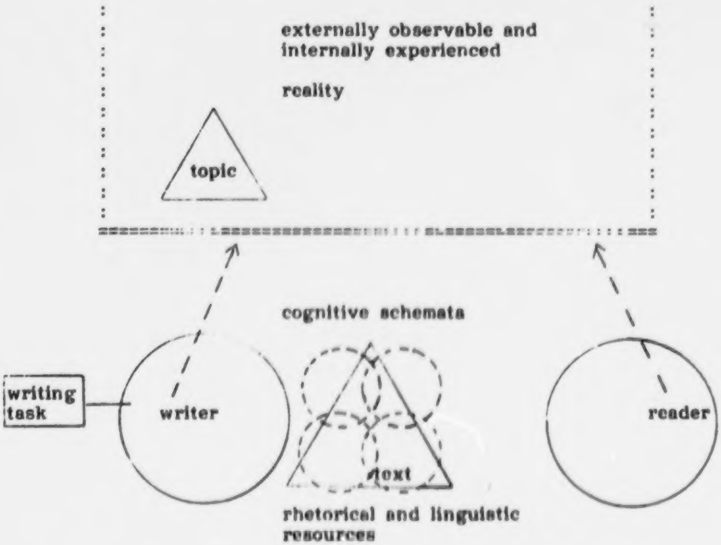
externally observable and
internally experienced
reality
topic
cognitive schemata
writing task
writer
text
reader
rhetorical and linguistic resources

Figure 1. Contextual Factors in Writing Situation

The figure illustrates how one has to consider three main dimensions in the writing situation: (a) cognitive, (b) intersubjective, (c) linguistic and rhetorical.

The figure shows that in the cognitive dimension there are two relationships: the relationship between the referent/topic and the writer and the relationship between the referent and the reader. The more distant the topic is for the writer, the more cognitive effort s/he has to make and, correspondingly, the more distant the topic is for the reader, the more interpretive effort s/he has to make. In this effort to get hold of the referent by thinking, the writer's and the reader's schemata play an important role.

Between the writer and the reader there is an intersubjective distance, which the writer cannot bridge directly but only through his/her text (discourse). How the text will look like is influenced not only by personal schemata but also by individual linguistic and rhetorical resources. By these means the writer has to make an effort to make a transition from utterance to text, from writer meaning to explicit, literal meaning. The writer uses them to reach his/her communicative goal and comes up with eg. narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative or instructive text. The figure also indicates that there must be at least some overlap between the writer's and the reader's schemata as well as between their linguistic and rhetorical resources. The wider the intersubjective distance is (the less there are commonality in the frame of reference shared by the writer and the reader), the more communicative competence the writer has to possess.

The foregoing contextual analysis of the writing situation and the concept of writing shows that even experienced language users face a demanding task when they engage in writing. When we analyze the task from the viewpoint of beginning writers, we realize that they face difficulties in all relations illustrated by Figure 1:

(a) they have limited knowledge and experience about external reality and, consequently, different referents, topics;

(b) they do not have an edaquate stock of schemata to support the processing of information;

(c) they have limited experience concerning different readers and of their response tendencies;

(d) they do not possess sufficient linguistic or rhetorical resources to be able to write a text which succeeds in conveying independent, literal meaning.

They may have difficulties also in the motor fluency of textproduction. The foregoing contextual analysis of the writing situation has revealed the essential factors that school-based writing has to cope with. At the same time, the analysis points out the determinants which have to be taken into account, when a model of school-based writing instruction is being planned.

3. The domain of school-based writing

During the planning phase of the IEA International Study of Written Composition it became obvious that there was a need for a model of writing which could be applied to the specification of writing tasks or assignments. The model was needed also for the analysis of teaching. Work on such a model was undertaken, even though it was recognized that it would necessarily be a simplification of reality. However, the merit of a model is that it takes due account of the central variables in schoolbased writing situations and of their relationships as they are realized in actual writing assignments.

The preceding discussion on the nature and value of writing led the present author to develop a general model of schoolbased writing. Its development was guided by the view that several dimensions must be considered when selecting and sequencing writing tasks in teaching and/or investigating learning outcomes. The preceding analysis of the concept of writing has shown that the important contextual factors in a writing situation can be characterized as: (a) cognitive demands related to the topic and content, (b) social and intersubjective demands of writing concerning the purpose and audience of writing, and, (c) linguistic and rhetorical demands of writing concerning the mode of discourse. The first two of these can be taken as the main dimensions if we wish to characterize the domain by means of a two-dimensional typology, as was considered useful.

As a consequence, the model poses "dominant intention/purpose" as one main dimension and "cognitive processing demands" as the other. Primary audience is related to the purpose of writing and primary content to the levels of cognitive processing. Cognitive processing elicits documentative, constative or exploratory discourse, which can be realized in a variety of text types. Thus, the model attempts to establish a balance between the modes and purposes of writing, which are conflated in some earlier model of written discourse based on traditional rhetorics. However, Leonard (1914) and Brewer (1980), for instance see cognitive processing, representing and expanding reality, as being related to the mode of writing.

The model is based on semiotic structure in that it takes account of the relationship between the writer, the reader, and the message. One of the major merits of the semiotic approach is that for curriculum planners, textbook writers and teachers, it calls attention to the purposes and functions of school writing.

The model is derived largely from the work of Bühler (1934) and Jakobson (1960). Recent models relevant to school writing, especially those by Moffett (1968), Britton et al. (1975) and Kinneavy (1980), also reflect a similar understanding of the interrelationships between writers, readers and texts. In adopting this approach a basic weakness of many models of writing instruction can be avoided, namely that the purpose and mode of writing have been considered largely synonymous. This view is probably based on the old rhetorical tradition, and the old rhetorical modes (narration, description, exposition and argumentation) have been incorporated as such as the subcategories of writing purposes.

The present author believes, like Britton, that it would be advisable to keep in mind that rhetorical modes and their interpretations are derived from the analysis of the finished products of adult writers and speakers. If we, by contrast, start from Jakobson's classification of the functions of language (referential, metalingual, emotive, conative, phatic and poetic), we can conclude that narration and description, in particular, can be used for several purposes. Similarly, expository writing can also be used for referential purposes as well as for conative purposes. A model which links each of these rhetorical modes with a single specific function militates against flexible use of language. In this respect, the view adopted in the study is similar to the view expressed by Lauer et al. (1981), who make a clear distinction between the aims (which guide the choice of material) and the modes of writing (which are patterns of organizing the material).

3.1. Analysis of the main dimensions of the model

The figure shows that in outlining one of the two main dimensions of the model, the dominant purpose/intention, a decision was made to start from five main purposes which are related to the functions which Jakobson has described. However, it seemed more appropriate to use verbs rather than Jakobson's terms to designate the main purposes since the model appears to be relevant also to reades who are not experts in linguistics or to mother tongue teachers.

The following five main purposes were considered the most important in school-based writing: to learn (metalingual, mathetic), to convey emotions and feelings (emotive), to inform (referential), to convince/persuade (conative), to entertain, delight, or please (poetic). The learning purpose is considered to include not only the code-focused (metalingual, meta-communicative, or meta-interactive) function but also a more general function of learning (mathetic). Two very important purposes of writing in society have been omitted. The "archival" function of writing, ie. the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage, is hardly relevant for beginning writers. The phatic function (to write in order to establish contact) was considered to be partly included in the referential (to write in order to inform) and conative function (to write in order to convince/persuade). If it were included, the most typical cognitive activity related do it would

	Cognitive Processing	I Reproduce	II Organize/Reorganize	III Invent/Generate
Dominant Intention/Purpose	Primary Content Primary Audience			
To learn (metalingual)	Self			
To convey emotions, feelings (emotive)	Self Others			
To inform (referential)	Others			
To convince/persuade (conative)	Others			
To entertain, delight, please (poetic)	Others			
To keep in touch (phatic)	Others			

Figure 2. A general model of written discourse

probably be "organize/reorganize" and the most typical product a postcard. Practising such writing was considered marginal in school-based writing.

In spite of these two exclusions the purposes defined for writing cover quite well the central writing aims and needs of individuals and society.

Cognitive processes and modes of written discourse

The semiotic models proposed by Moffett, Britton and Kinneavy emphasize the purpose of writing. However, they tend not to give due attention to the other important dimension, the cognitive processes. The close connection between thinking and writing is pointed out, but the relationship is not elaborated in a manner that would be useful for writing in an educational context.

Examination of school writing from the point of view of both cognitive processing and the mode of discourse implies that the writers can represent and expand their views of the world at different levels of originality and maturity. Despite the fact that the cognitive processes underlying writing and thinking are very complex, the level of cognitive processing / cognitive demand of the writing tasks (cf. Bloom and al. 1956, Leonard 1914) was subcategorized as follows:

(1) receptive, recognizing and recalling modes of processing of information, in which the writer reproduces units, events, facts (eg. copies, cites, makes notes);

(2) analyzing and structuring modes of processing of information, in which the writer organizes or reorganizes reality (eg. narrates, describes, explains, summarizes);

(3) evaluating and generating modes of processing of information, in which the writer expands reality, invents/generates reality (eg. analyzes, expounds, argues, creates a new possible world).

Thus, the task demands increase as we move to the right along the horizontal axis of the model. Instead of a reproduction of ideas and language, students will have to come up with ideas of their own and with appropriate rhetorical and linguistic forms. This dimension highlights the fact that the most dominant feature of school writing situations is often the parameter of content (topic, theme). This is particularly true of beginning writers. If a significant amount of experience, observations, and knowledge is stored in long-term memory, even a beginning writer can direct cognitive parameters of the writing situation (cf. eg. Augustine 1981, Bereiter 1981).

In the first category of the processing classification both content and language are given in task. In the second category content is though to be quite easily accessible from longterm memory, so the main effort is in the organization of ideas and in the ability to convey content through language. In the third category the content has to be generated together with organization and language.

The present writer suggests that the following classification of the mode of writing, which is largely based on traditional rhetoric, might prove useful in any evaluative study of written compositon:

1. Documentative discourse: material is recorded as such with little o no modification. This leads to copying but also to notes, short answers t questions in workbooks, stream of consciousness writing, etc.

2. Constative discourse:

   a. Narrative discourse: the writer reports on events and experiences. This leads to a story, narrative report, an account of events, news, etc.

   b. Descriptive discourse: the writer conveys to the audience a structured account of either a static state or dynamic process. This leads, on the one hand, to descriptions of objects, scenery, etc., on the other hand, to instructions how to use some machine, how to do something, or a description of a route to follow.

   c. Explanatory discourse: the writer conveys a logical account using such techniques as comparison, classification, and cause-effect. This leads to products like reports, technical descriptions, statements of personal views, opinions.

3. Exploratory discourse:

   a. Interpretive (expository/argumentative/persuasive discourse: the writer examines some material, classifies it and makes conclusions using induction, deduction and comparison. This may lead to changes of other people's actions or thinking and to products like book reviews, editorials, columns, essays which show what the writer thinks of some events, ideas, etc.

   b. Literary discourse, in which special attention is paid to the structure of the product. Experiences are made the object of conscious analysis by distancing them. They are given a well-considered structure, and special attention is paid to the choice of words and sentences. This leads to poems, plays, play with language resources, and creative experiments with language. In literary discourse, other modes of discourse may be used according to the purpose of the writer.

Cognitive Processing		I REPRODUCE	II ORGANIZE/REORGANIZE		III INVENT/GENERATE	
Dominant Intention/Purpose	Primary Content / Primary Audience	Linguistically Precoded/Predetermined Information	Known Spatial/Temporal	Phenomena, Concepts or Mental States	New or Alternative Spatial/Temporal	Phenomena, Concepts or Mental States
1. To learn (meta-lingual. mathetic)	Self	Copying Taking dictation	Retell a story (heard or read)	Note Resume Summary Outline Paraphrasing	Comments on book margins Metaphors Analogies	
2. To convey emotions, feelings (emotive)	Self Others	Stream of Consciousness	Personal story Personal diary Personal letter	Portrayal	Reflective writing -- Personal essays	The traditional literary genres and modes can be placed under one or more of these four purposes.
3. To inform (referential)	Others	Quote Fill in a form	Narrative report News Instruction Telegram Announcement Circular	Directions Description Technical description Biography Science report/experiment	Expository writing -- Definition -- Academic essay/article -- Book review -- Commentary	
4. To convince persuade (conative)	Others	Citation from authority/expert	Letter of application Statement of personal views, opinions	Advertisement Letter or advice	Argumentative/persuasive writing -- Editorial -- Critical essay/article	
5. To entertain, delight, please (poetic)	Others	Quotation of poetry and prose	Given an ending-create a story Create an ending Retell a story	Word portrait or sketch Causerie	Entertainment writing -- Parody -- Rhymes	
6. To keep in touch (phatic)	Others	Postcards	Postcards, letters			
		DOCUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE	REPORTORIAL DISCOURSE		EXPLORATORY DISCOURSE	

Figure 3. A general model of written discourse: attempted location of text types in the model

The two main dimensions of the model give a typology which can be tested by locating different types of written products in it. Figure 3 illustrates such an attempt, which is not meant to be an exhaustive classification of the types of written discourse. It is not supposed to convey the view that the way in which the text types have been used to illustrate the system is the only possible classification. Thus, a summary can be written for many purposes, for instance, to learn or to inform or to persuade. The same is true of many, perhaps most, text types.

As suggested earlier, no sharp distinction should be made between the level of cognitive processing and the modes of discourse. This connection is made by indicating at the bottom of the figure how the mode of discourse is related to the level of cognitive processing.

The model seeks to illustrate how complex and multi-dimensional the domain of school writing is, or could be. In consequence, it suggests strongly that the school has a demanding task in introducing children into the world of written communication. It is obvious that the school is responsible for providing varied writing situations (varied writing purposes, cognitive demands, audiences). At the same time, the model shows how many factors have to be taken into account in the attempts to secure the content representativeness of the tasks in the evaluation of writing skills.

The model has been employed to describe and evaluate types of written composition tasks used in different countries. It may also prove useful in discussions of the general approach - and also the quality - of the writing curriculum in schools (eg. the coverage of the curriculum and the sequencing of different types of writing tasks). It may also help us to make decisions on what kind of writing tasks can usefully be employed with pupils of different ages or at different levels of development.

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SUMMARIZATION: INTEGRATING READING AND WRITING

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In recent years there has been a growing interest in summarizing: dozens of studies have been published concerning summarizing skills and their development from early age to college. Why this great interest in summarizing? Some probable reasons can be speculated:

(1) Summarizing as a means of finding meaning. Recent cognitively-oriented psychology has emphasized the constructive nature of reading and listening comprehension, ie. the reader, listener or hearer has to make an active effort after meaning and construct the meaning of the message for himself. Several studies have indicated that we can recall only short phrases and even these for only a few seconds. Therefore, in order to understand an extended passage, the reader, listener or hearer has to condense the text into meaning. Summarizing is thus considered to be an inherent part of comprehension.

(2) Summarizing as a study technique. Learning from text is perhaps the most typical task for students at school. Students have to read extensively in the various school subjects. To be able to get the gist of what they read is of great importance in their school success. This skill is even more significant in college, where students have to write term papers and theses.

(3) Summarizing as a testing method. Summarizing has become one of the few standard methods in measuring recall of text read or heard. It is frequently used in addition to recognition tasks and multiple choice questions. Before a more detailed account of summary, reading/writing relationships will be reviewed in the light of most recent American research.

1. Reading/writing relationships

Reading and writing have traditionally been considered separate processes. Since the 1970's new approaches to the study of reading and writing and their relationships have however been introduced. One of the reasons is the growing interest in communication and communicative competence instead of mere linguistic competence. There exist numerous American correlational studies on reading/writing relationships and, according to Stotsky (1984), they fall in to one of the following three categories: measures of reading achievement correlating with measures of writing ability: measures of reading experience correlating with measures of writing ability: and measures of reading ability correlating with measures of syntactic complexity in students' compositions. The correlational studies indicate almost consistently that better writers tend to be better readers, better writers tend to read more than poorer writers, and better readers tend to produce more syntactically mature writing than poorer readers (Stotsky 1984:16).

Pearson and Tierney (1984) view reading and writing as essentially similar processes of meaning construction. They are both acts of composing. From the reader's perspective, meaning is created when the reader uses his experiences and his memories of past events together with the author's cues. Thus the reader and the writer 'negotiate' meaning through the text, ie. writers create text and readers give it meaning. Authors frequently assume that readers give their text a meaning similar to the one they had in mind when writing the text. At the same time, authors expect some kind of variation, and they also expect that readers fill in certain gaps in their writing. Conversely, texts are read by readers who expect that authors have given enough clues about the meaning of the text to make it possible for them to reconstruct the message in accordance of a model as similar as possible to the one the author had in mind when writing the text.

A reader is able to assess the effectiveness of his reading while doing it, whether he understands what he reads or not. But a writer can rely on his audience only after writing. It is impossible to write without reading. A reader does not have to write during reading, but a writer reads his text, especially if the text is long and complex. In most cases, the writer and the reader are not involved with the text simultaneously. Particularly with young readers it is possible that the reader does not understand that he is in contact with the author while reading.

Results obtained in research dealing with reading/writing indicate clearly that it is of crucial importance to teach reading and writing together. For example, Squire (1983) states that reading and writing are processes which complement each other. His suggestion of the processes required are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Reading and writing processes (Squire 1983:28)

Before Writing:	Securing ideas Organizing ideas Determining point of view Considering audience
Before Reading:	Preparing to comprehend Relating to prior experience Establishing purpose Looking for the author's stance
During Reading and Writing:	Composing or comprehending Actively engaged emotionally and intellectually
After Writing:	Evaluating Editing and revising Applying outside standards of correctness
After Reading:	Evaluating Studying parts in relation to whole Analyzing how effects are achieved Applying independent judgements (preferences, ethics, aesthetics).

In the study of reading/writing relationships, more attention than before should be paid to the linguistic abilities of readers and writers. Special attention should also be paid to finding out how teachers teach creative reading and writing. The significance of understanding the structure of texts should be emphasized. If the reader under his teacher's guidance is led to the original ideas and intentions of the author by the organization and structure of the text, it will be easier for the student to write texts whose information and meaning are well-organized and easy to understand.

2. Finding the main idea in a text: summarizing

By the side of understanding the structure of a text, recent reasearch has stressed the significance of finding and understanding the main idea in a text. The skill to recognize the main idea represents the skill to summarize, ie. the reader/listener summarizes the information in a text into a form which is easier to handle and easier to understand. Especially young readers often have difficulty in locating the main idea. Various explanations have been given; for instance the author has not been able to present the main idea explicitly in his text or he has placed the main idea in an unsuitable or unusual place in his text. Some researchers claim that the fault is not necessarily with the author, but that some readers cannot understand the main idea because they do not have the necessary reasoning skills, skills to make syntheses or paraphrases nor skills to write summaries. Lapp and Flood (1983) claim that the ability to find the main idea depends on the situation. The reader may have the necessary cognitive and linguistic prerequisites to carry out the task with a certain type of text, but another text type may pose many problems.

What is typical of summarization studies carried out in the 1980's is that they seem to concentrate on what young summarizers cannot do rather than looking into their success in the task.

3. Qualities of good and poor summarizers

In order to write a good summary, it is first of all necessary to understand thoroughly the text which is to be summarized. Unfamiliar words and phrases should be clarified, and the text should be read at least twice. During the first reading the reader should try to understand the author's controlling idea and the purpose of the text. Subsequent readings can then help the reader to gain a better grasp of the details in the text. Reading for a summary requires mastery of different reading techniques, because the text types vary.

A good summarizer masters reading techniques: he finds meaning in the text and sees how different parts of the text are connected. Evidently, a good summarizer starts summarizing when he reads the text. He spends much time reading and thinking and only a little time actually writing. Careful reading rules out misinterpretations of the text. The reader colours the text unconsciously; he reads it in terms of his own experiences and imagination. A poor summarizer spends only a little time reading and planning and plenty of time writing. This might perhaps be caused for instance, by insufficient teaching of reading comprehension. Students are not instructed in the use strategies and procedures which facilitate the process of learning from a text. Also they may not have enough background information or the choice of text may not be the best possible. A detailed introduction of the task as well as instruction are of importance, at least to students whose reading skills are poor or who have difficulties in learning.

Taylor (1986) gave 4th and 5th graders a task of summarizing a 300-word narrative text and an expository text of the same length. The lesson was videotaped and the interviews of the students were taped. Taylor analyzed the data and the summaries by good summarizers to find out about the processes and techniques required in good performance. He found out that a good summarizer drew conclusions during reading and removed unnecessary details from the text. The reading phase was also characterized by some kind of planning of what was to be written. A poor summarizer did not draw conclusions, did not comment on the text in any way, and did not make a plan for writing during reading. A good writer paid attention to the topic whereas an unsuccessful writer rushed into writing and neglected the topic.

Text structure seemed to carry more weight in summarizing an expository text than a narrative text. Mastery of structure seemed to help in locating significant information and deleting unnecessary detail. It was also related to the skill of making generalizations. Poor summarizers were not successful in generalizations. They rewrote the plot with all details, whereas a good summarizer found the main idea/ideas, ie. was able to make generalizations. The students did not seem to have difficulties in writing in their own words, but when poor summarizers were asked what kind of difficulties they had experienced, they stated that substituting their own words for the original author's had been hard. The successful ones said, however, that finding and expressing the main idea had been difficult. In other words, a good summarizer saw the task in broad terms; it required drawing conclusions and generalizing, manipulating the author's ideas, and creating something new. In contrast, the poor summarizers saw the assignment in narrow terms: it only required a substitution of their own words for those of the author. In general, poor summarizers found the task easy and thought that they had succeeded quite well, ie. they were overconfident. The good, in contrast, found the task very demanding and they had a healthy skepticism about their work.

3. Conclusion

Summarizing is a skill which is needed in everyday contacts, discussion, and reading. It is especially needed in studying, at school, at the university, and in job advancement. Summarizing presupposes a good skill in reading comprehension, which is perhaps the most important study skill. Mother tongue teaching has an exceptionally important role to play in the teaching of understanding and learning from texts, because analytical and critical reading skills are an asset in other school subjects as well. Summarizing could be taught as early as the elementary level by using summarizing rules and making the pupils familiar with different text structures and ways to analyze them (Havola 1986).

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THE NORDWRITE PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents an outline of a new three-year joint Nordic research project focusing on performance analyses of discourse-level parameters in Nordic students' EFL written production at several age and skill levels. At the first stage (1986), several performance analyses of a small number of texts are being carried out in order to isolate variables that correlate with student development as to age and skill level. These analyses will be exemplified in the paper by preliminary analyses of temporal sequence in Swedish students' written narratives. At the second stage (1987-88), in-depth descriptive analyses of a small number of variables in a large number of texts will be carried out. These analyses will be computer-assisted.

1. Introduction

Recent interest in the text level in applied linguistic research has raised a number of new and important questions also in the Nordic countries. Some of the questions concern the development of writing abilities among students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

In 1986 a joint Nordic research project on EFL writing in schools has been initiated with the financial support of NOS-H, the joint committee of the Nordic research councils for the humanities. The aim of the three-year NORDWRITE project is to carry out discourse-level performance analyses of EFL compositions written by students in four Nordic countries.

1.1. Why writing?

The NORDWRITE project concentrates on the development of written EFL skills in the Nordic countries. This focus has several reasons. For small countries in our part of the world, foreign language communication is crucial in many contexts - cultural, economical and technical. More specifically, English plays a special role as the most important foreign language, and sustained communication in English is very often written. This situation raises an important point concerning cultural policy: If members of the Nordic countries want to be senders of messages and not just receivers of messages, writing in English is an essential skill.

Given this background, the teaching of foreign language writing in schools becomes an important question. However, most recent developments of language curricula and teaching methods in applied linguistics have centered on oral skills, and the methods available for the teaching of writing are still mostly very traditional, centered around what may be regarded as a pedagogical avoidance strategy - simply assigning and correcting essays. The students receive very little help with regard to the actual writing process going on in between.

It has been documented by a large-scale Norwegian survey of grades 8-11 that writing is felt to be more difficult than any other skill, by both students and teachers, in both first language and foreign language (EFL) contexts (see Evensen, forthcoming). Furthermore, scholars have questioned the student abilities attained in written foreign language communication, even at university levels (see Lindeberg 1984).

1.2. Why discourse?

The project's focus on the discourse level in writing is also based on several considerations. Language in use is discourse, not utterances or speech acts in isolation. This means that for genuine written communication the discourse level is essential.

In the educational context it has been documented that the discourse level of writing in schools is particularly problematic, along with vocabulary (see the survey mentioned above). This finding implies that insight into student problems at the textual and lexical levels of description is one important prerequisite for research-based attempts at improving teaching.

Recent developments in text linguistics/discourse analysis and applied linguistics (performance analysis) have produced several tools for investigating student writing at this level of description (cf. van Dijk 1985). For Nordic cooperation, the new Nordic research group for theoretical and applied text linguistics (NORDTEXT) is also an important resourse (see NORDTEXT Newsletter I, 1984).

In the Nordic countries, several exploratory performance analyses of student EFL writing have been carried out in recent years (see Linnarud 1978; Lindeberg 1984; Evensen 1985). What is needed, however, are larger, descriptive studies, where some phenomena are studied in more detail. For this purpose, international cooperation is essential, given the limited resources that are presently available in each of the Nordic countries.

2. Aims

This background leads to the two questions that the project attempts to illuminate:

- to what extent are certain discourse-level features (see below) mastered at different intermediate/advanced levels of EFL acquisition?
- how are different discourse-level characteristics related to evaluation of text quality in the educational context?

An answer to these questions will be based on performance analyses of texts written by students at six grade levels in four Nordic countries.

3. The Method

The project will be carried out in two stages. At the first, exploratory stage (1986) a small number of texts are being analyzed with regard to a relatively large number of variables. On the basis of this stage, a small number of variables will be isolated for more in-depth analysis at the second, descriptive stage (1987-1988).

3.1. The Material

The exploratory analyses are based on three corpora which are described in the first work-in-progress report from the project, printed as *Trondheim Papers in Applied Linguistics (TRANS)*, Vol. 2. A Swedish corpus of nine picture-based love stories produced by students in their second year of secondary school (Gymnasieskolan) forms a basis for narrative analysis (see Linnarud 1986 and this volume). The texts have been evaluated by three sets of evaluators and divided into sub-sets termed LO, MID and HI. In the exploratory corpus there are three texts in each of these groups. Analyses of this corpus are exemplified in section 5 below.

At the second stage, new national corpora will be established on the basis of statistic sampling criteria. Stratification will be based on regions/first language/dialect areas (four values), urbanization of school communities (two values), grade level (four values in each country, with partial overlap), text type (three values) and text quality (three values). This design will result in national data bases of 288 texts with an expected total of approximately 70-75.000 words. For quantitative analyses of relatively rare phenomena the Trondheim Corpus will also be available (1405 EFL texts with approximately 350.000 words).

The texts in the national corpora will be evaluated by the students' EFL teachers. In addition, a sub-sample will be evaluated by an independent group of three evaluators (see Larsson 1984). This sub-sample will function as basic material for intensive studies.

3.2. The Approach

Performance analysis has been chosen as the methodological approach for the project. This choice reflects historical developments in applied linguistics. In earlier applied linguistics, contrastive analysis between first language and target language was the preferred approach (see Lado 1957). There were some problems with this approach, however, that led to more emphasis on errors actually produced by students. A strong version of contrastive analysis predicted errors that do not often occur, and certain errors that do occur are not due to interference from the first language. Error analysis did not face such problems (Rusiecki 1976).

Error analysis has other weaknesses, though. It is not sufficient in order to describe foreign language use which is not erroneous, just generally poor. Also, it does not capture the systematic nature of learners' developing foreign language competence (Schachter 1974). This interlanguage (Selinker 1972) can only be described if both errors and achievements are taken into account (ie. analysis of general performance).

In performance analysis both contrastive analysis and error analysis have a role to play.

3.3. The Variables

The selection of variables for the exploratory stage has been based on learner problems documented in the Nordic countries (see Linnarud 1978; Evensen 1983, forthcoming; Lindeberg 1984). The analyses are organized around a commom core of variables, with additional national branching:

COMMON	- lexical cohesion - theme dynamics (textual aspects of information structure) - connectors (conjunctions and connective sentence adverbials)
FINLAND	- discourse functions (patterns of causality, contrast, specification, etc.)
SWEDEN	- reference/ substitution (pronouns and other proforms, definiteness and ellipsis)
NORWAY	- temporal sequence (verb forms in relation to text type and global coherence)
DENMARK	- pragmatic coherence (sequencing of communicative acts)

Initial analyses aim at isolating variables that both discriminate between different skill levels and between different age levels. The exploratory analyses are used as a basis for establishing a common methodological procedure for the project (see TRANS 2 for more detailed discussions of methodology) and subsequent tests of inter-researcher reliability toward the end of the exploratory stage.

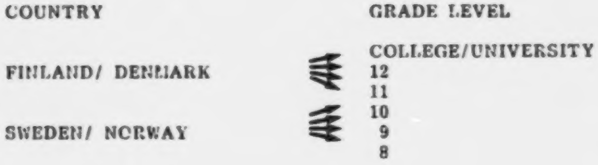
3.4. The Descriptive stage

Based on the exploratory analyses, one variable, or a few interrelated variables, will be selected for in-depth analysis of the larger national corpora at the second, descriptive stage.

Some national branching is part of the design also for the second stage. The Swedish project will make a comparison between Swedish and British learners of English in comparable age groups. The Danish project will focus on foreign language learners' writing processes and strategies, whereas the Norwegian project will use material from learner and teacher questionnaires on writing problems, pedagogical practices and demographic background to aid the interpretation of linguistic analyses.

At the descriptive stage, machine-aided procedures will also be necessary. Standard software (search functions, concordance, analysis of item/ pattern frequency, etc.) will form the basis for semi-automatic approaches. Some degree of software development will however also be necessary (probably within grammar-free parsing).

The analyses will focus on four grade levels in each national project. The Swedish and Norwegian projects will analyse material from students in the eigth and ninth years of comprehensive school and the first and second years of secondary school. The Finnish and Danish projects analyse material from all grades of secondary school, but also include first year students at college/ university level. This design allows for cross-sectional analysis of development at six grade levels, where comparative studies are possible between at least two countries at each level. Relatively comprehensive coverage is thus made possible without a parallel increase in the work-load for each member of the research group. The design in presented graphically below:



4. The Organisation

The project is organized around a research group consisting of one member from each of the participant countries. The members of the group are:

- Moira Linnarud, University of Lund, Sweden
- Dorthe Albrechtsen, University of Copenhagen, Denmark (succeeding Claus Faerch)
- Ann Charlotte Lindeberg, Abo Akademi/ The Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration, Helsinki, Finland
- Lars Sigfred Evensen, University of Trondheim, Norway (project leader)

The group is assisted in its work by an advisory council. The members of the council are:

- Nils Erik Enkvist, Abo Akademi, Finland
- Lita Lundquist, The Copenhagen School of Economics and Business Administration, Denmark
- Gunnel Källgren, University of Stockholm, Sweden
- Elisabeth Ingram, University of Trondheim, Norway.

5. Temporal sequence

5.1. Introduction

The exploratory NORDWRITE studies will be illustrated with one example from initial work within the Norwegian part of the project. Since Werlich's (1976) analysis it has been recognized that certain genres may be crudely defined by unmarked verb form sequence[1]. Preterite verb forms in sequence strongly signal that the text is a narrative, whereas a sequence of verb stems signal that the text is instructional. Similarly, expository/ argumentative text forms are recognized, among other things, by sequences of simple present verb forms, as the unmarked case.

What is less commonly recognized is the fact that verb form sequence also helps to signal meso-level construction of texts. In argumentative texts, short narratives may be used as illustration. In scientific articles the material/methodology section is partly signalled by a switch to unmarked simple past (Selinker et al. 1978).

Furthermore, there is a hierarchy of parameter weights involved (cf. Enkvist 1976 on parameter weighting). Descriptions are normally marked by simple present, and narratives may contain descriptive sections. The simple past marking is, however, normally strong enough to override the subsection marking, with the result that descriptive sections in narratives stay within the unmarked simple past sequence. This fact led Werlich (1976:47ff) astray. He analyzed past tense as unmarked for descriptive texts without realizing that his examples were taken from subsections of past tense stories.

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[1] I prefer not to use terms like 'tense' or 'temporal sequence' because grammatical tense and chronological sequence are only part of the game. Verb form sequence includes both aspectual and modal features.

5.2. A tentative taxonomy

This brief exposition implies that changes in verb form sequence may very well be motivated by considerations of discourse strategy. Still, it is common knowledge among school teachers that weaker students sometimes mix tenses without any apparent discourse-strategic reason. In order to take care of this crucial distinction in analyses of student writing, it is necessary to establish a tentative taxonomy of cases where shifts in narrative verb form sequence are motivated by strategic principles (see *TRANS* 2 for a more comprehensive taxonomy). In genuine written communication, verb fron sequence is in no way a strait-jacket.

(i) The first case is well known from traditional grammar. Direct speech is not constrained by the unmarked verb form sequence:

(1) She *said*: Yes I *will marry* you.

(ii) Transition from the setting/orientation to narrative action also allows for a shift in temporal sequence. An example from the student material may illustrate this:

(2) Ron *was* a very sad man... Now he *lived* in a small town called Bexhill.
It's a very fine day... Ron *is walking* on the street, when he suddenly *see* a girl...

These transitions are often marked by temporal pointers (see *TRANS* 2) like ... *years/weeks... ago*.

(iii) A part of the setting may be foregrounded. One way of accomplishing this is to introduce a switch from unmarked past to simple (narrative) present *within* a descriptive section. This rather clever trick is exploited by the poorest writer in the material (quoted above) and helps explain why this text at first sounds quite promising to some readers, in spite of the mixing of tenses in the second sentence.

(3) Ron *was* a very sad man. He *has lost* his wife for three years ago. Now he *lived* in a small town called Bexhill.
It's a very fine day in April. The sun *is shining* and it's rather hot. Ron *is walking* on the street, when he suddenly *see* a girl in front of him with very long hair...

(iv) Narratives may also contain descriptive sections offering background information for some point that is brought up by the narrative. It was pointed out above that such sections normally lose the 'battle' of parameter weighting and remain within the unmarked simple past sequence. However, if background descriptions contain generic statements, this aspect will normally be strong enough to override the simple past sequence. One of Mann and Thompson's (1986:66) example sequences exemplify this pattern:

(4) Hayes just resigned. He's our chancellor

In a Norwegian study of L1 narrative writing, Aarek (1984) has reported on verb form sequence in 322 pupil narratives in grades 1-6 with the title "17th of May". Comprehensive school pupils seem to master this pattern early, as when a student writes within a past tense narrative: "17. mai er en nasjonaldag. Den blir feiret over hele Norge." (May 17 is an Independence Day. It is celebrated all over Norway.)

The generic character is often signalled by adverbials like use to, always, never, every day/week... One of the poorer texts in the Swedish material exemplifies this use of adverbials when the writer says:

(5) He is walking after a girl with long hair. Horace has always liked girls with long hair".

(v) Van Dijk (1977) has noted that the pluperfect may be introduced to signal a mismatch between verbal sequence and underlying chronological sequence. This match is basic to the narrative contract (see Labov and Waletzky 1967) and a major function of the pluperfect is to signal deviations from the unmarked case (but see also vi below).

(6) Old Mr. Bond went looking for the spy as soon as he had gulped down his seventh double Scotch

(vi) Deviations from the unmarked experiential iconicity (cf. Enkvist 1981) may also occur when a portion of the underlying chronological sequence is left out of the narrative (termed 'literary ellipsis' by Genette 1972). Literary ellipsis is another feature which is sometimes signalled by the pluperfect or the present perfect in narratives based on literary present tense:

(7) When they have been married for a couple of weeks, Mr. Smith starts to complaining of his wifes long dark hair.

(vii) The last category to be included in this restricted taxonomy consists of cases where the writer steps out of the narrative past to comment on the immediate here and now or make metacomments on text production itself:

(8) ... and I have no proof that Jesus died on the cross. He was, by all accounts, a man of immense stature and strenght with huge lungs rendered the more powerful by the practice of a kind of oratory. (Anthony Burgess, The Kingdom of the Wicked)

In this section, Burgess ends a present tense meta-introduction of several pages, and the long story about the first Christians begins - in the middle of the paragraph. A very effective literary metamorphosis.

In oral discourse, comments seen from the writer's here and now are quite common, as in this narrative ending:

(9) ...and then we left for home. Oh, I've forgotten to tell you about the kitten...

In writing, this category seems to be characteristic only of narratives produced by relatively young writers. Aarek (1984) has documented several occurrences in L1 writing in grades 1-6, but it does not occur in the present material.

5.3. Some empirical results

The taxonomy makes it possible to make a preliminary distinction between 'unmotivated' and 'motivated' breaks in verb form sequence. In the present exploratory analysis all breaks which do not fall into any of the categories within our tazonomy have been tabulated as occurrences of so-called 'mixed tenses'. In Figure 1 below the uses of both motivated and "unmotivates" breaks are presented as frequences found in each of the text groups.

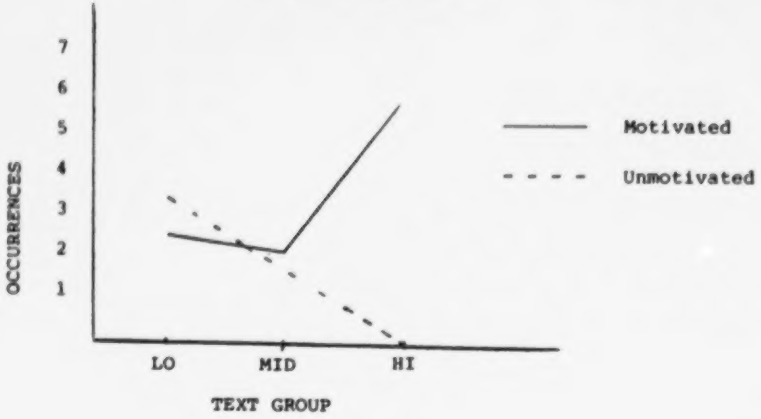

Figure 1. Breaks in temporal sequence

It is clear that unmotivated breaks are a feature typical only of poor writers at this level, whereas motivated breaks are typical only of good writers. These measures, then, discriminate very well between different skill levels in the present material.

5. Concluding Remarks

The NOS-H grant to the NORDWRITE project should be seen as a victory for Nordic cooperation in applied language studies. It is to be hoped that the project will act as a stimulus for further Nordic cooperation in this field. At each national level, the resources available for research purposes are limited. At the Nordic level, however, much more can be achieved.

At the time of writing, work within the project has been developing only for a few months. It is thus to be hoped that researchers who are interested in discourse-level writing skills contact us for mutual benefit. The problems facing language teaching are still so many, and the attempts at research-based solutions so few.

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MEANING AND DIVERSITY

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The low budgets for the humanities lead to a new concept of a pedagogical accuracy, and to a much more bureaucratical approach to learning and teaching languages at the university level. I propose, as a part of the necessary rethinking, that we concentrate on three things: meaning of the teaching materials; diversity in presenting the countries which use the chosen foreign language; and, as a consequence, individualization of teaching.

For a new orientation we may turn to American semantics, European pragmatism, or Asiatic computing, and next year somebody will come home from Australia and tell about the Task Force. We shall hear more about multiculturalism in early childhood and the later stages of life. I have found some inspiration also in language philosophy and in books written by Greimas's pupils.

If you live in a country where methods are free, where you have no central institute to decide for you in which direction your teaching must go, you have the chance to follow your own understanding of the world situation, but you also face the risk of seeing an enormous discrepancy between the official policy and the expectations and hopes of your students.

Education in general fails to reflect, or respond to, the cultural and linguistic diversity of our own societies for many reasons. One of the most basic ones is the virtual exclusion of persons of minority ethnic communities from decision-making processes. Legislation in this field is absent or not effective. Absence of adequate information and statistical data is another reason why it is not possible to make a comprehensive analysis of the situation.

Talking about meaning or signification means talking about it as a basic principle. By the learn-from-your errors method we have seen that you cannot present England and the products of the English people from the point of view of an Eaton boy. But you should not forget that he still exists. Sociolinguistics will tell us to present things differently to different groups of people. At various universities in Europe, nowadays, the students are very different as regards age and background, and it becomes more and more necessary to know them personally to direct them properly and not to lose them.

Societies move very fast, dictionaries change very often, and in some societies, ie. very big cities, language develops at a rate that cannot be followed by all persons, by all generations or by all professions, so that literature, to be understood by the young generation of certain countries, should be rewritten every 20 years.

Big cities are the place where language and "sociolects" are developed. The diversity of products of language there must be listened to and studied by our students, but they must not forget the 'old' diversity, that of the dialects. It will be an important task for all university teachers to draw in oral and written materials under the aspect of diversity. But it must be done in all the modern, still spoken, languages.

It is time to think of the language situation in our own country in order to understand the cultural background of our own students, but we should also think of the choice of foreign languages to be taught, a choice made by parliament and the ministry of education, as seems generally to be the case. One language seems to conquer the world: American English. There is only one place, as far as I know, where this language is in some kind of danger; it is the southern parts of the U.S.A. But in our Scandinavian countries this domination of one foreign language means a loss of good cultural influence, which we need because of the enforced poverty of our own culture.

Unity of culture and unity of language have always been the ideal of the tyrants. Babel was not a tower, but a city. By unity of language it could be dominated as we can read in the First Book of Moses.

It is in this perspective of the easy way, that of unity, that university teachers can work for a better understanding, both larger and more profound, by presenting grammar and phonetics as some people's grammar and by studying the background of the text to be translated or the subject to be treated in discussions or in a written form. We deal with so many forms and kinds of materials that we easily lose the perspective of the language as a whole. The different parts of the studies of foreign languages deal with signs and only a little bit with signification. The humanities have taken over the views and the vocabulary of the 'exact sciences', which, again, long for the humanistic point of view for their own subjects. By insisting on the signification aspect we can renew the studies and perhaps save the computer generation from boredom.

The cognitive way of stimulation and motivation, "grammaire notionnelle-fonctionnelle", simulations of real situations, fantasy games, will certainly make students of a language advance faster, and the scientific results psychology, sociology, medicine and brain-studies will have of a larger and still faster impact on the understanding of what languages are and on the teaching of them. But teaching and research in universities continue to take little account of the multicultural nature of the surrounding society and less account of the multicultural nature and the fast changes of the societies whose languages we study, or rather, whose languages we are still allowed to study.

To study a language takes time. So we cannot lose time by letting students learn together. They will have to learn by heart individually, the means are there; the acquisition of abilities must be left to computers and only be checked by teachers. Teachers must focus on theoretical and cognitive aspects to make students work intensively and to avoid dullness and apathy.

It has been said that there are too many losers in our societies, but there are also many losers at our universities. It seems so, but some students abandon their studies because they feel that they are given stones for bread. The intellectual part of language studies must be developed to a much higher degree, and in a shorter period for individual study, in order to contribute to the intellectual context of the individual and society. We know a little more about heritage and background, will and ambitions, individual and collective education than we did during the heyday of structuralism. Even Makarenko and his effective collective schooling system have changed somewhat. Now you hear of talking to the imagination and the 'heart' of the student, and the 'meaning' of the situation from the student's point of view. You may now orient your students toward the application of the problem-oriented method. That will make our students look for the 'meaning' of what they are doing and stimulate the interest in applying theories.

The Soviet psychologists Leontiev and Rubinstein have declared that one of the reasons for an unsuccessful languagelearningprocess is the application of a uniform, one-and-only method used to give equal opportunities to all students. Their argument is that language is a sort of activity for human beings. And they say that a foreign language is more easily learnt in situation which imitate the real ones. The consequence must be that you cannot acquire a foreign language if the study of it is separated from the rest of a person's interests and goals in life, from his or her attitudes, personality, and values.

The Strasbourg plan seems to suffer from smaller and smaller budgets. The Threshold Level and 'le Niveau Seuil' have already reached the school books and the ideas about communication are there to stay. But in order to communicate properly with other human beings you must know each other, and the teacher should bear in mind a detailed 'portrait' of the student, so that each student can feel that he makes progress for his own part, and not only that the group in which he has been accidentally placed has advanced in knowledge. The best thing you can do for the students is to send them, one by one, to the countries of their speciality; the second best is to send them along in groups the way they do in England. If you go with them, it will have an impact, good perhaps, on their work, but they will not have the impression that they have really visited a foreign country. And it has not yet been possible for all students to stay more than one month a year in a country where their chosen foreign languages are spoken by the majority of the population. One year should be the minimum.

The get lost, to feel lost, seems to be an experience essential for language learners. We do not know what we will be able to do by help of machines, but what we do know is that languages do not correspond to each other, word by word. Therefore, it is necessary that learners get used to explaining and discussing the history, the situation of today and the ways of thinking of their own country in the foreign language which they have chosen to study. Likewise, the training in translation should be primarily an analysis of the text, spoken or written, in the foreign language much more often than that of a text in the mother tongue. The meaning, there again, is the most important.

What the subjects should be in the large field of communication is a question of the needs of the world as we all know. It seems as if academic culture is regressing, not only because it is not possible to become a polyglot or a polyhistorian but also because we do not seem to try. It becomes apparent to us that we could have done more when things like the Chernobyl accident happen, when it is difficult to explain why there was no communication.

Issues like antiracism, human rights, cultural heritage, peace and international understanding shall be our subjects and our students should be able to discuss them in three, four or five languages. They will be the major issues in the world for a long period of time. And we can start with refugees, who produce diversity in our uniform societies.

Semiotics can teach us to enjoy literature again. Literature, which is a discovery of the Western World amongst the pleasures of life, ie. a pleasure of reading and enjoying books, is disappearing. Semiotics can be a game and a scientific project which can lead us back to this pleasure, says Greimas, who talks about 'seme' as the smallest element of signification, about semiology as the study of significations in general; semantics studies significations in 'langue', and semiotics studies significations in 'discours'. 'Langue' vs. 'discours' almost equals Saussure's 'langue' vs. 'parole'. Thus 'discours' means the individual use of language in a certain concrete situation.

In the semiotic project you see how a science is growing up, a science concerning elements of language which have been hidden. The study of significations has been very much delayed as compared to fields like phonology and grammar. And it is no accident because many significations are of a non-material kind. You cannot see them, you cannot measure them. The perception of them comes from something that can he called (linguistic) intuition.

Intuition is subjective, and a real science cannot have a subjective object. So the scientific status has been low. If the semantic project should become a science it means that it must eliminate all subjectivity and produce a proof, like a mathematical demonstration, which is reproducible on the basis of formulas.

In semantics, reference is constantly made to feelings: 'linguistic feeling' is a necessary explanation, "I see it like this..", "I understand the words so and so..". Can such a project find a part of linguistic intuition which is not personal? What do you do about subjectivity? Generally an attempt is made to find a consensus with others in reference to dictionaries, doctrines, colleagues, etc.

Anne Hénault says in "Les enjeux de la sémiotique" that when the interindividual exchange has started and you admit that meaning has not only individual signification for an individual, but it also circulates, you must recognize that the interior eye which tells everyone what a certain meaning is has a double nature:

(1) 'intuition idiolectale' refers to the individual nature, ie. a specific and subjective linguistic feeling; and

(2) 'conscience séméiologique' or 'solidarité sémantique' is the social nature of the linguistic feeling.

Pottier and Bloomfield have refrained from touching the descriptions of significations. There will be others who will take it as a challenge to find out what semantic solidarity, the second part of the linguistic intuition, can be. It is very important to possess it, and to know that you possess it, when you work with languages.

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INVALID TALK: REDUCTION OF PERSONALITY IN THE EVALUATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE SPEAKING SKILLS

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ABSTRACT

Forty university-level Finnish learners of English are assessed according to their speaking abilities in tests requiring use of interactional and transactional language function. In the interactional test the learner introduces a topic of his/her own choice and attempts to converse with two native-speakers of English. In the transactional test the same learner watches a video clip from a TV crime drama and produces a spoken narrative about what happens in the film. The tests are graded by both English and Finnish native-speaker lecturers and startling differences are evident in the grades allocated for the same student by the different sets of examiners. It is argued that pragmatic breakdown between L1 and L2 has occured and that it is sociopragmatic features (which stem from culturally-specific perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour) which are the cause. How such different conventions interfere with understanding the intentions of a foreign language speaker are discussed in broader terms.

1. Introduction

Evaluation is the focus of much research and development in applied linguistics and foreign or second language teaching. This paper is not about the testing of spoken language so much as an expression of concern over some of the variables affecting such evaluation which raises a couple of questions.

Firstly, why do the variables create unexplained variations of scores for the same person at the same time in particular types of spoken language examinations? Secondly, is it variables such as these which provide impetus for the sort of degrading and very definitely invalid assertion which follows:

> Finns are mere beggars of love and affection, deeply insecure persons unable to love and confront open conflicts. The results are clear: We are a humble subservient folk; We beat those who are weaker and lack the self-security to be tender... Sometimes we are explicitly sanctioned for showing our love, joy or hatred... People may get envious about your happiness... Envy, that's the main characteristic of the Finns. (Moore and Soto 1984).

This paper will discuss these two questions in relation to spoken language as it is taught and used in cross-cultural situations. It supports the argument that we understand the nature of language by looking at how it is used in communication, its pragmatic dimension.

2. The background

It may be useful to familiarise ourselves with some of the terms used in this paper. In using 'cross-cultural' we refer to the different groups that may operate within any given society or culture. In this way we can avoid referring to any particular nation or culture as having a specific set of pragmatic norms embodied in its language and used by its members. These groups may be localised in areas, professions, religions, cults, subcultures, etc. Thus we can see cross-cultural as being used to refer to communication between any people who do not share a common cultural background.

It is obvious that different groups of speakers differ in their choices of linguistic expression. For example, one group may not make contextualisation overt, whereas another may explicitly contextualise, filling in pronoun referents and background information, making assumptions, and using metalanguage, in other words comment on the talk itself. In pragmatic terms, different groups follow differing language delivery rules.

Within each society the symbols which comprise its cultural semiotic systems are, of course, in a continuous state of adjustment and alteration. Those changes represent important cultural and social processes, eg. those of struggles for power and the formation and reformation of networks of human relationships. And this movement is certain to be manifested at the pragmatic level.

Charles Saunders Peirce (1976) remarked: "It is a strange thing, when one comes to ponder over it, that a sign should leave its interpreter to supply a part of its meaning." Strange indeed but the hearer is required to draw upon a wealth of world experience and knowledge of a general kind in order to make sense of individual words, utterances, discourse, non-verbal and paralinguistic features of language use.

3. The method

In this paper these points are discussed in relation to the evaluation of foreign language fluency. The focus will be on the ways in which a hearer decodes some of the pragmatic aspects of student-talk found in spoken language examinations at a university in Finland.

In this project 35 Finnish learners of English were assessed according to their fluency in the language. All the learners had been or were to be studying a foreign language other than English, such as French, German or Swedish.

The first test, called a 'Conversation Test', involved the student in conversation with two native-speakers of English on a subject of the student's choice for about ten minutes. The examiners evaluated each student performance and allocated a grade on a ten-point scale. The student talk was marked utterance by utterance.

Shortly after this conversation test the students were invited to sit a second test. They knew that their talk would be graded but these grades would not be filed. In this test the students first watched a five-minute video clip from a TV play by Alan Bleasdale. Before seeing the extract they were told that they were to be asked the question: Describe what happened as though you were in the role of a bystander/eyewitness. Immediately after seeing the film extract, which was predominantly a street scene, each student attempted to answer this question in the presence of a native-speaker of English. The English speaker provided non-verbal feedback and reinforcers.

4. The situation and function

The film extract opens with a street scene in which two social workers try to persuade a man, the father of three children, to allow access to his home. The children are in no immediate danger. This occurs whilst some police officers sit outside the house in a car. The man refuses entry for fear that the social workers will take his children away from him. The police force an entry into the house, attack and brutally beat the man into submission. At the end of the clip a young child shoots at a policeman with an air rifle (ie. not wounding him seriously) and another child violently strikes a sympathetic social worker. Although shocked and angry the social workers present on the scene are unable to prevent the police violence being inflicted on the man.

It is an extract which is low in dialogue but high in action and drama.

The first test, the Conversation Test, draws on interactional skills. Interactional language function concerns the development and maintenance of social relations. It is listener-orientated and is the primary function of spoken language. One main purpose is the expression and enjoyment of shared experience. It is closely bound to the expression of personality and, thus, culture.

The second examination, the Narrative Test, draws on transactional skills. Transactional language function is essentially about the transfer of information from one source to another. The message is the reason for talking and the message must be understood by the hearer.

Interactional skills are the primary function of spoken language, and tend to serve a Private language function. Private language delivery tends to be unplanned and thus spontaneous to some extent. Its form is regarded as deviant from prestige language forms. Transactional skills serve a Public language function. Public language delivery is more likely to be rehearsed or planned and more likely to represent prestige language norms.

Pragmalinguistic differences between languages refer to the differing means that any language might have for conveying the degree of force in any particular illocution. Across cultures these may be found in the use of directives, apologies, requests, etc. Work has been done elsewhere in relation to pragmatic breakdown caused by pragmalinguistic differences between the Englishes and Finnish in which speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred, and these play a minor role in what is described here.

Sociopragmatic differences stem from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour. These might include ways of initiating and ending discourse, turntaking, treatment of silences in conversation and use of nonverbal signalling devices. Sociopragmatic features concern the social conditions placed on language use in any context.

5. The results

The conversation test was marked by two native speakers of English. Both exams were graded according to lexis, grammar, pronunciation, and content. The narrative test was marked by three sets of examiners: two native-speakers of English; two native-speakers of Finnish who had seen the film extract prior to grading and two who had not.

The results of these examinations reveal two curious features. On the one hand, there was often a considerable difference between the grade allocated for the same student in the conversation test and the narrative test. In one case this involved a difference of six points (out of ten). On the other hand, there was also a substantial difference between the grades allocated by the English and Finnish native-speakers for the narrative test. Many of these fluctuate up and down between the sets of scores. These differences indicated that it was not merely fluency in a foreign language that was being tested here but ability to perceive and adhere to certain social rules governing communicative context.

The sample was not large enough to produce a normal distribution curve, and the test variable was very low at 0.9128. However, differences exist between the scores and the reasons for these differences may lie with pragmatic breakdown between English and Finnish and differing concept of situation. Some of these are culture-bound and others are idiosyncratic.

6. Discussion

It appears that a few of the students who did particularly well in the conversation test may have been those who used certain interactional language forms, increasingly common in private language, such as semantic frames (which serve to signal that the stretch of an utterance is to be taken in a particular manner, eg. expressing opinions, convictions, personal viewpoints, evaluation); means of argumentation; or subject expansion; signals of social context (eg. turn-taking signals or state-of-consciousness signals indicating what a person is ready to do) and communication control signals (cf. Keller 1979).

The analysis of spoken discourse reveals that indeed these are features of spoken interaction, and the student who have used them have been credited accordingly. But a look at the reports of the student tests in which low grades were attained reveals startling statements:

Student A: no initiation
B: not fast enough in delivery
C: making statements and not conversing
D: thoroughly unco-operative
E: no content to answer
F: shotgun delivery
G: rather passive
H: talks in short phrases
I: not very willing to elaborate beyond a sentence or two and needs prompting
J: not very convincing gestures
K: needs some prompting
L: slow and boring
M: hesitant, very Finnish

Let us take some quotes from the reports of the students who did noticeably better in the conversation test:

Student A: can fill up a silence
B: has quick reponses to questions
C: has good physical responses
D: is able to interrupt
E: is quick, lively and not wooden
F: is very talkative and carries the ball
G: shows interest
H: has good gestures

The argument here is simply this: As experienced language users the Finnish students are obliged to judge the parameters of the situation are the communicative context, and attend to the form of language that they deliver in the conversation test. The situation here appears to demand interactional, private use of language, and yet the context is far from suitable for the demands made of the student for interactional language delivery. This is evident in self-reporting statements made by students indicating the feeling of having ones's personality on trial in the test.

The student is likely to be perplexed over the weighting of interactional and transactional functions because the situation is not clearly defined, and what is defined is often contradictory. In other words, how can conversation (private and interactional) be developed in a 10-point formal graded context? This pragmatic breakdown through mishandling of certain sociopragmatic rules between Finnish and English casts the validity of the test in some doubt.

Let us move to the students who scored substantially different results on the narrative test.

In the narrative test the student presumably knows what is expected: the message is the reason for talking and the message must be understood.

So why is there a difference between the evaluations by English- and Finnish-speaking examiners?

The student who describe the chain of events and talk about those events are those who do noticebly better on the English-speaker-evaluated narrative. Some also opened and closed the narrative with some comment on the film extract. Others provided opinions evaluating the conduct of the police, the social workers, the father and the children. Others compared the behaviour with that likely to be found in such a situation in the Scandinavian or Finnish context.

You will remember that the film extract depicted police behaviour which was clearly unneccesarily violent with a corresponding lack of interference by the social workers on the scene. The bait was there and and the fish that bit were rewarded; they interpreted the events although they were not explicitly asked to do so. Remember the question put to the students was a demand to recall the chain of events leading to the children being taken away by the social workers. Comment on the moral and ethical implications of the action taken by the authorities was not requested. Some students provided that meta-comment and were duly rewarded and some did not. These differences are probably due to different definitions of the narrative being performed and these are probably sociopragmatic.

In reference to Erving Goffman, Deborah Tannen (1980) suggests that such inclusion of meta-comment in narrative is a particularly North American phenomenon. Could it be that even though the context in which the narrative was produced was carefully controlled and defined we still have sociopragmatic problems occuring?

Goffman writes (1959) that any verbal performance is an exercise in the presentation-of-self. Is this what the English examiners regard as icing on the cake whilst the Finnish examiners do not regard that cake as needing icing? In turn does this not cast doubt on the way in which such tests are carried out? The implications of this may go far in relation to the evaluation of language use in all its different forms.

Within each culture there are groups which respect and follow different cultural and social systems. A language belongs to each and everyone who uses it. Each user tints it in some way or another, and this usually adds to the wealth and scope of that language.

Sociopragmatic breakdown is not so much a case of a producer being necessarily 'wrong', 'rude', or 'shotgun', but perhaps the interpreter being ignorant and displaying prejudice. And when such persons have the authority to judge the linguistic performance of another then they may be unwittingly abusing the power bestowed upon them. Correct, permissable and appropriate language usage are terms that some practioners in the field need to re-evaluate. Recent developments in pragmatics enable them to do so.

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EMOTIONAL HINDRANCES IN THE FL LEARNING SITUATION: THE WEAK SELF CONCEPT

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims at an analysis of some affective/emotional factors in the FL learning situation which tend to hinder the learner in/from learning the target language (TL). Starting with a presentation of some ideas concerning the 'affective filter', the author focuses on the learner's self concept as a very central factor affecting TL learning and achievement. General, academic, and TL specific self concepts are discussed, and an operationalization scheme is presented. A series of small-scale studies is used as background data at a point where validation study is being planned.

1. On the 'mental block' syndrome

It is a well-known phenomenon that many persons who have all the qualifications to learn a foreign language, perhaps - overtly - even the will, fail to do so for some emotional reasons (Nida 1958, Schumann 1978). We posit a psychological construct, a 'filter' of some kind, which rises/stands in the way of incoming language data. The term, 'socio-affective filter', 'affective filter', or simply 'filter' was first used by Dulay and Burt (1977), was included in Krashen's theories (see eg. Krashen 1982), and has been used widely in professional discussions in the 1980's. The snag is that the concept has been rather void of content. An attempt to define the concept through a number of distinctive features, and then to operationalize these was presented by the present author in 1985 (see Laine 1986b). Various groups of 'filter raisers' are discussed briefly below.

In a broad view, all affective factors can contribute to the 'filter': attitudes and motivation, personality traits and self-ratings all have their affective elements which may be negative toward TL learning or things connected with it. This means that the learner 'turns away' from the subject, and even his perception of incoming information is biassed: part of it will be ignored, part will be misconstrued, and only a minor part will be 'taken in' roughly in the form that it was sent. Some of these 'filter raisers' are averse/negative attitudes toward the target language the ethnic group/nation speaking it, or target culture; hostile or 'superior' attitudes are not a rarity even today. Secondly, in the case of school learning, fatigue and some feelings of aversion tend to set in with many students after a few years of school. This carries over into TL learning, even more so as FLs are often considered the most difficult school subjects. Third, several factors in the learning situation may act as 'filter raisers': the TL course will be found unpalatable by some learners, instructional methods will be seen as dull, artificial, or naive by others; few teachers will be approved of whole-heartedly by all students. At this juncture we may stop and ask how many school FL learners *without* strong 'filters' can exist? And the worst is perhaps yet to come: if the learner's notion of himself, his self concept, is weak ("I am no good at anything!"), his mind will certainly be seriously blocked against the best of attempts to help him to his trough of English (or whatever).

2. The self concept

The *self concept* is "a person's view of himself as he experiences himself, as others experience him and as he would wish to be as a psychical and physical being" (Hirsjärvi 1982:115). "The self concept is the sum total of the views that a person has of himself and consists of beliefs, evaluations, and behavioural tendencies. This implies that the self-concept can be considered to be "a plethora of attitudes towards the self which are unique to each individual" (Burns 1982:29). It is considered a very essential part of personality (Brown 1981, Coleman 1960, Epstein 1976, Jersild 1969, Pölkki 1978), and if it grows askew, the learner and the educator alike are in sore trouble:

> There is no action that a teacher can take that a child with a negative self-concept cannot interpret in a negative way. No matter how positively others might interpret the action, the child can still interpret it in a negative way... The self-concept is like an *inner filter* - every perception that enters the individual must go *through the* filter. As each perception passes through the filter, it is given meaning, and the meaning given is determined largely by the view of the individual has of himself. If it is a negative view, every experience is stamped with a frown. If it is a positive view, each new experience is stamped with a smile. (Burns 1982:14; emphasis added).

Here, then, we have the potential kernel of the 'filter' device (cf. Laine 1986b: 5). The concept has many forms, of which the academic self concept with its school subject (TL) specific forms is of special interest here. The influence of the self concept on school achievement has been shown to be the stronger, the more specific forms are in question (see Burns 1982: 206-218).

A global concept consisting of a person's every possible notion of, and attitude toward, himself is difficult to approach: we must try to structure it somehow. This is not so easy, since a great number of views and terms are found in the literature. The following sketchy presentation represents a view which finds large acceptance. According to this view, the components of self-esteem, real/actual self and ideal self are essential elements of the self concept (Burns 1982, Coleman 1960, Lehtovaara and Koskenniemi 1978, Pölkki 1978). These are very clearly significant in the specific case of FL learning, and will be included in our 'model'. Of these, self-esteem is very central, representing 'a general measure of self' (Backman and Secord 1968:42). It is 'the worth that persons place upon themselves' (Brown 1981:114), and 'probably the most important requirement for effective behaviour' (Coopersmith 1971:343). Many researchers use the term interchangeably with 'self concept'.

The real/actual (or, 'cognized') self represents a person's notions (beliefs, cognitions) of what he really is like, while the 'ideal self' reveals what he would like to be (or do); it also contains an element saying what he ought to be, ie. the critical self (on these concepts see Coleman 1960, Coopersmith 1967, Jersild 1969, Pölkki 1978, Rauste-von Wright 1981). (In addition to these aspects, possibly also the 'other' or 'social' self should be taken into account; in this context, it will be considered to some extent under 'cognized' self.) Regarding the relations between these subconcepts, 'self-esteem' is to be seen as resulting largely from the interplay between 'actual self' and 'ideal self'; hierarchically, then, it can be placed 'above' the other two (here cf. Burns 1982:24).

The self concept tends to determine what a person does in situations (Burns 1982:14), ie. there is a behavioural tendency, and there are expectations of what will happen to the person in those situations. These experiences can be anxious and averse, and many defences and inhibitions are connected with them. This understandably happens especially with persons with weak self concepts. Remembering how significant/destructive these inhibitive feelings can be to FL learning (consider here Stengel 1939), it seems feasible to stick to Brown's (1981:116) idea and 'subsume

/inhibitions/ under the notion of self-esteem' (self-esteem here equals the 'self concept').

On the other hand, the self concept can be conceived of as appearing at different levels (Brown 1981; Laine 1986b), namely, global, specific, and the task level. Speaking of learners' academic and TL specific self concepts these aspects will naturally loom large in 'filter' research. The resulting picture of a learner's academic/TL specific self concept, however, can only be adequately interpreted against the background of his 'general global' self concept. For instance, the 'general global' can be low/weak for reasons outside the learning situation (eg. family reasons) affecting the 'academic' levels; in the opposite case, factors in the learning situation may account for 'defects'. In research, this must be taken into account (see later chapter 4).

3. Some findings concerning 'mental block' factors

In a study of FL learning motivation Laine (1978) analysed school FL learners' 'short term motivation' which appears in the FL learning situation, and found it equally significant with 'long term motivation' as a determinant of achievement (Laine 1978:105). In an elaboration where motivation leading to over- or underachievement was the problem, it was shown that an optimal achievement-geared situation in the FL class (high general achievement level, high self-evaluation regarding chances of doing even better) promoted overachievement, ie. the students achieved even higher than was predictable through their measures of aptitude. Yet, also underachievement gets clearly accentuated in the school learning situation; there are even signs that in a good FL class, the eventual group of 'slow' learners' tend to sink deeper and deeper, and in a poor class, an eventual group of good learners get extra 'promotion'.

The connection between overachievement and affective motivation was clear in both forms of motivation. Teacher competence and pedagogical orientation, as well as some positive factors in the home background tended to promote overachievement. What ultimately seemed to distinguish overachievers was their positive affective attitudes toward classroom activities, whereas underachievers were characterized by negative attitudes toward TL learning, TL class anxiety, and notions of the difficulty of TL learning; they quite simply had no will to study TL, but planned giving it up as soon as possible. (Laine 1978:106-113).

For reasons discussed in the first chapters and the results cited above, more and more attention has been paid by the present author to affective factors, and recently to the self concept. One or two recent findings are touched upon here.

In a study carried out at the University of Joensuu (Makkonen et al. 1985) with comprehensive school learners of English (N= 120) in Eastern Finland showed that students with weak self concepts were characterized by inactivity, unwillingness to read or communicate in the TL, nervousness and irritability in the TL class, and feelings that the teacher was not satisfied with them. Typically, they were low achievers. (In this study, too, many high achievers felt that they received too high marks/grades from their teachers.)

In a study not documented so far, trainee teachers studied streamed language classes (N approx.= 25 for each stream) looking for differences in view of 'filter factors' with short/medium/long course learners of English. The short course low achievers were not willing to communicate, but did not show many signs of anxiety. The most interesting finding concerned long course high achievers compared with the 'mediums': while they were confident about their skills (real/performing self), their global and specific self concepts appeared weaker than those of the 'mediums', which may be a sign of the 'ideal/critical self' exerting its influence.

The two studies mentioned last call attention, besides general observations familiar from previous research, and some single features, to the significance of the subconcepts of 'other self' and 'critical self', to be remembered in a wider study to follow as an eventual enlargement of the theoretical framework (cf. chapters 2 and 4).

4. Toward an operationalization

As was proposed in chapter 2, essential subconcepts to be operationalized in self concept research are self-esteem, the real/actual self and the ideal self. A 'critical self' aspect is posited under the subconcept of 'ideal self', and the 'other self' aspect can possibly be considered under 'cognized self'. Inhibitions/defences were considered essential in a study of (weak) self concepts, and were included in the model. Further, the three levels, global, specific, and task level, were included. We thus get the cross-tabulation presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Components and levels of the self concept

	COMPONENTS			
LEVELS	Ideal	Actual	Self-esteem	Inhibitions
Global				
Specific				
Task				

An operationalization of the concept(s) into research variables can now take place according to the following scheme:

(1) Measures of the general self concept. The general self concept is measured sufficiently to give a background (see shapter 2). As the 'general global' level alone would obviously be too vague, also some items from the 'specific' level will be included, representing aspects like the learner's notions of his abilities, (possibly) looks, and worth/dignity.

(2) Measures of the academic self concept. Items representing the 'global' and 'specific' levels of the learner's notions of himself as a scholar, chosen analogously with the items under (1) above.

(3) Measures of the 'language ego'. Here, the three levels appear: (1) the learner's notions of himself as a 'linguist' at large, (2) as a TL learner, and (3) in TL learning tasks (see Brown 1981, Laine 1986b).

(4) Inhibitions/defences. Inhibitions/defences tie in with every category above, from task level feelings to generalized feelings of anxiety: (1) at the 'general global' level, as feelings of alienation, and of dissatisfaction with oneself; (2) at the 'general academic' level, as general nervousness and fear of mistakes; (3) at the 'general L2 level', as strain caused by alien culture/ language, linguistic anxiety, and fear of L2 errors; (4) at the 'specific' TL level, as generalized feelings of strain, shame, insufficiency, guilt, etc., and fear of errors in TL use; and (5) at the TL 'task' level, as specific instances of (4) above.

In the operationalization scheme, then, special attention is paid to the 'language ego', and even more to inhibitions. Similarly, the 'specific' and 'task' levels are focussed on, as these correlate more strongly with TL learning outcomes than the general/global level does (Brookover et al. 1964).

5. Conclusion

The old 'model' of TL learning motivation included the learner's 'self-ratings' (see eg. Gardner and Lambert 1972, and the rest of the studies in that framework). Their logical 'placement' in a model of the inner structure of motivation was analyzed and tested later (Laine 1978). The contents of this significant variable, however, has remained a unidimensional evaluation of one's TL skills, good, poor, or 'so-so'. It will be seen that the construct of self-concept is much larger, and that numerous further significant aspects have to be considered if we want to make adequate research in the field of 'filter' factors. While the theoretical 'place' of the self concept in a model of 'filter' factors seems clear (Laine 1986b) as well as in one of FL learning motivation (Laine 1978; Laine 1986a, 4.3.-4.4.), the present discussion can promote such adequate research, meaningful both theoretically and from the viewpoint of FL teaching practice.

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LANGUAGE IN PRESCHOOL EDUCATION IN A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper gives a brief account of our research on preschool children's speech in small groups. We do not only presuppose that learning and teaching take place in daycare centres and kindergartens but also that verbal communication with playmates as well as with teachers influences the thinking, attitudes, and well-being of an individual young child. It is important to study this verbal communication in terms of the functions which the utterances made by children and teachers may have. We only present results from our investigations which concern (1) the impact of adult participation and type of play upon children's use of language; (2) differences in teachers' use of language; and (3) some characteristics of "the language of language teaching in kindergartens".

Description of utterance functions in children

As stated in more detail elsewhere (Vedeler 1985; Vejleskov 1978, 1982), our investigations have been inspired by the Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1971) theory of speech acts. This philosophical approach to language is, naturally, of a general nature and states that each utterance has an illocutionary force. Consequently, neither Austin's rather general categorization of five distinctive types of illocutionary act nor Searle's discussion of the set of rules constituting each kind of illocutionary act form a suitable basis for a concrete, psychological observation and description of children's speaker intentions. Correspondingly, Halliday's (1975) theory of three linguistic metafunctions determining the form of each spoken (or written) utterance does not make up a sufficient framework for a functional (or pragmatic) characterization of concrete utterances made by a certain child in a certain context or situation. However, the works of therse scholars clearly explain that there is a need to examine children's speech to answer the question of what a child of three, four, five, etc., can wish to do by making an oral utterance?

During a series of pilot studies it became evident that it was both possible and meaningful to observe episodes of interaction in small groups of preschool children and, for each utterance, record its function, ie. the speaker's intention as he makes that utterance.

This is no place to discuss the psychological-epistemological problems connected with the concepts of 'intention', 'unconscious intention', etc. Nor will we discuss the relationship between illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts. Rather we shall confine ourselves to briefly mentioning the rather common-sense insights of the experienced preschool teachers who served as observers during the pilot studies: they found it very natural to characterize the utterances made by the children in terms of functions, although they also were aware of the fact that in some cases their interpretations were uncertain.

Gradually we ended up having a method of observation and recording which had the following traits:

- we normally recorded the episodes on videotape and had at least two persons involved in the categorization;
- we used a rather extensive list of functional categories and also allowed the observers to record a supplementary utterance function if this was felt to result in a more satisfactory and precise characterization; and
- we maintained that the categorization of the function of an utterance, ie. the intention or speech act of a speaker, depends on an interpretation of the whole situation including other expressions on the part of speaker, reactions on the part of listener(s), the interactional 'climate' in the group, the play activity going on, etc.

During the last few years, our recordings have been based upon a list of 23 functional categories as shown in Table 1 which also presents some of the possible reductions of the categories. The 18 categories are used in an intensive analysis of utterance functions and can be further reduced in different ways. The 14 categories which were further reduced to 7 groups of functions were used in an analysis which especially focussed upon interactions during role play (Vedeler 1985). In that study certain utterance functions were further specified by means of some subcategorizations to be recorded as supplementary functions in the recording scheme. For instance, directing utterances about the roles of the role play may, in various ways, serve speaker intentions to create a context for the play, and more detailed analyses of social or emotional functions of utterances during play may reflect the interpersonal relations between the children in a more satisfactory way (cf. Table 2).

Other variables

In addition to the recording of each utterance and its function, we have taken a number of other variables into account some of which are concerned with communication patterns. For each utterance we have recorded who was the speaker, who, if anybody, did provoke it, who if anybody, was the intended receiver, and who, if anybody, answered it. This information enables us to characterize each utterance in terms of 'communicative value' as well as each episode in terms of communication patterns, and each participant in terms of responsiveness, communicative interest, etc. It also makes it possible for us to analyse the frequencey of each utterance function in private speech vs. speech to playmates vs. speech to preschool teachers.

Another variable concerns role play. For each utterance it was recorded whether it was made by the child as he 'was' another person, whether it was about the roles and the role play, or whether it had nothing to do with role play. This is due to the fact that not only the form but also the function of children's utterances may be affected by their participation in this rather frequent kind of play.

Some additional variables are attached to the utterance function itself. Firstly, we recorded the degree of intended influence shown by the speaker as he made the utterance, eg. whether he was very eager to influence the listener or whether the utterance was private speech. Secondly, we recorded the explicitness of the function, ie. whether the function was made explicit ("I warn you: If ..."), whether the function was implicit, or whether the utterance was an indirect speech act.

Finally some variables are concerned with the form and content of the individual utterance. Thus the length and the thematic content as well as the dialogical status of each utterance were recorded. The latter term refers to a characterization of the utterance with respect to its relationship to the previous utterance, ie. whether the dialogue is interrupted, continued, developed, etc. (cf. Söderbergh 1980).

SPEAKER WANTS TO....	REDUCTION TO 18 CATEGORIES	REDUCTION TO 14 CATEGORIES	7 GROUPS OF UTTERANCE FUNCTIONS
"examine" listener or control his knowledge	examine	examine	INTELLECTUAL
get information about something from listener	get information	get knowledge	
tell listener something	tell	tell	
state a fact, eg. by answering "yes" or "no"	state	support dialogue	DIALOGUE-SUPPORTING
carry on conversation, be polite	be polite		
stick to one's own	stick to one's own	stick to one's own	SOCIAL
ask for support or acceptance	make an appeal	make an appeal	
ask for sympathy			
make contact with somebody	make contact	make contact	
influence another person's feelings positively	influence positively	infl./express pos.	EMOTIONAL
express his own positive feelings	express pos. feeling		
express his own negative feelings	express neg. feeling	infl./express neg.	
influence another person's feelings negatively	influence negatively		
instruct somebody, explain something to somebody	instruct	instruct	INSTRUCTIONAL
direct others' activity for educational reasons			
have something done, get help from somebody	have someth. (instrumental)	have someth. (instrumental)	DIRECTING
get something			
direct others' activity ("you")	direct others	direct others	
plan the activity of his own group ("we")	direct own group		
support the activity of his own group ("we")			
plan his own activity ("I")	direct himself	direct himself	SELF-DIRECTING
support his own activity ("I)			
no special function (word play, etc.)	no function	no function	NO FUNCTION

Table 1. The 23 utterance functions used in the recording of the material for the study reported here and three examples of reduced categorizations.

Subfunctions concerning role play. The speaker intends to form a context for the play in terms of	Subfunctions concerning interpersonal relations. The speaker intends to ...
- a (fictive) person	- do someone a favour
- (fictive) animals or things	- exercise authority
- (fictive) localities	- be kind or helpful
- (fictive) events	- be generous
- (fictive) qualities (eg. that someone is ill)	- be aggressive
	- avoid or run away from the interaction
	- warn
	- express his need for help/support/explanation etc.
	- be smart or sly

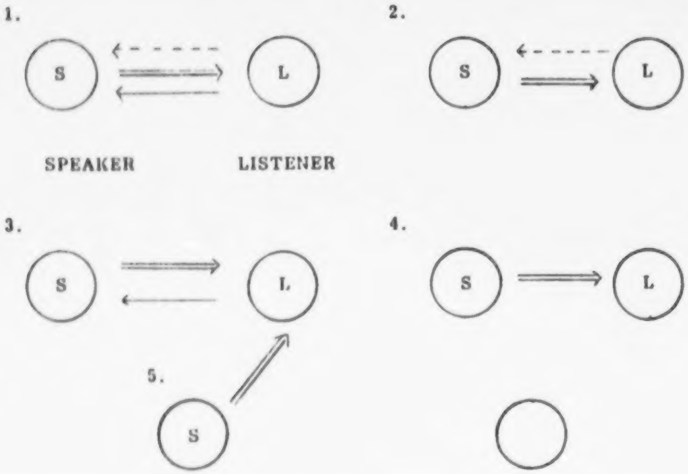
Table 2. Examples of supplementary functions used in some studies.

Results

In this section we will present some preliminary analyses of utterances made by children and teachers in small groups observed during the past years in natural settings (daycare centres) in Oslo.

We will only pay attention to some of the variables mentioned above, namely

- the distribution in percentage of utterances according to 'communicative value', which reflects communication patterns during the episodes in question (see Figure 1);
- the distribution in percentage of utterances according to their function, using the categorization shown in Table 1; and
- the average number of words per utterance, ie. mean utterance length.



<----- Provoking utterance

====> The utterance in question

<—— Answering utterance

1. The utterance is an answer and it is answered.
2. The utterance is an answer.
3. The utterance is answered.
4. The utterance is not an answer nor is it answered.
5. The utterance is private.

Figure 1. The five categories according to "communication value".

Table 3 presents the results such as they turned out in three kindergartens during construction play with and without teacher participation. In kindergarten I the date stems from several episodes with three resp. eight different children in different constellations playing the same kind of play, whereas in each of the two other kindergartens (D and E) the same three children play at first in the presence of their teacher and afterwards alone.

KINDERGARTEN	I				E				D		
TEACHER	ABSENT	ACTIVE			ABSENT	ACTIVE			ABSENT	ACTIVE	
SPEAKERS	CHILDREN	CHILDREN	TEACHER	BOTH	CHILDREN	CHILDREN	TEACHER	BOTH	CHILDREN	CHILDREN	TEACHER
COLUMN	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
COMMUNICATIVE VALUE											
- answers & answered (1)	21	28	25	28	29	21	27	23	9	28	24
- answers (2)	15	18	31	21	18	15	38	24	17	23	41
- answered (3)	13	12	12	12	12	21	7	16	3	28	12
- neither-nor (4)	23	15	32	19	24	29	28	29	34	13	18
- private (5)	28	27	0	21	18	15	0	9	38	10	6
UTTERANCE FUNCTION											
- intellectual	11	18	21	19	5	19	15	17	6	18	31
- instructional	5	7	30	12	7	3	34	15	4	5	26
- social-emotional	21	20	15	19	43	20	4	14	50	39	11
- directing/instrumental	27	16	12	15	16	10	24	16	3	2	15
- dialogue supporting	7	13	22	15	10	22	23	22	7	28	17
- self directing	29	26	0	21	19	25	0	15	30	8	0
MEAN LENGTH OF UTTERANCE	4.7	5.3	6.8	5.7	4.7	4.3			5.0	4.9	
NUMBER OF UTTERANCES	396	1004	274	1278	348	224	141	365	70	40	34

Table 3. The results from three daycare centres.

Comparison of the figures in columns (1) and (2), (5) and (6), and (9) and (10) implies some aspects of children's speech as it may be affected by adult participation. Thus, in kindergartens I and D, but not in E, adult participation brings about an increase of proper communication, and a decrease in private utterances as well as utterances which are neither answers nor answered. In all kindergartens it brings in more frequent use of utterances with intellectual and dialogue-supporting functions. In kindergartens I and E, adult participation means fewer instrumental-directing utterances, and in kindergartens E and D it means fewer social-emotional utterances. Finally, in kindergarten E the children produce more self-directing utterances when the teacher takes part in the talk, whereas in the other kindergartens, and especially in kindergarten D, the frequency of self-directing utterances decreases among the children.

The differences may partly be due to the teacher's use of verbal utterance. A comparison between columns (3), (7) and (11) shows that the teacher in kindergarten E made more utterances with instructional and instrumental-directing functions, and fewer utterances with intellectual and social-emotional functions than the two other teachers. Frequent use of command may thus imply that children communicate less so that half of their utterances have selfdirecting or dialogue supporting functions (the latter often referring to "yes" or "no" utterances).

However, the interpretation of the figures in Table 3 must take the age and communicative skill of the children into account. The age ranges in kindergartens E and D are 5;0 - 5;9 and 5;6 - 7;2 respectively. In kindergarten I the three children taking part in play without adult participation (column (1)) are 2;8 - 4;5 years of age, whereas the eight children playing in groups with adult participation (column (2)) are 4;5 - 6;9 years old. For this reason we present another comparison in Table 4. Column (1) shows the figures from ten children aged 3;7 - 7;0 occupied with role play without adult participation in several constellations of small groups. Column (2) contains the figures from six of the same children and two other children playing various role plays in which the preschool teacher took part. Columns (3) - (4) show the results from construction play (cf. Table 3, column (1) - (2)).

It appears that whereas the two kinds of play activity do not affect the communicative values very much, there are considerable differences between the distributions of utterance functions in columns (1) and (3) of Table 4: during role play without adult participation the children made more utterances with intellectual, instructional, social-emotional and dialogue-supporting functions than they did during construction play without adult participation. It can be argued that this means that role play gives rise to a better use of language because in general, corresponding differences have been found between older and younger children (or between children who take part in communication more actively and children who are less skilled speaker-listeners).

However, there are only small differences between columns (2) and (4) in Table 4. Thus, adult participation seems to influence the use of language differently according to the kind of play activity. This deserves a closer look. Table 5 shows the distributions of utterance functions for three older children and one younger during role play with and without teacher participation. Child 5 is generally a poor speaker-listener. Compared with other children of six years, she is less inclined to take part in verbal interaction, and she is seldom answered or addressed by playmates. However, Tables 5 and 6 show no systematic variation according to age or communication skill, with the exception of the fact that the total numerical difference between the two distributions per child decreases from left to right in Table 5. Thus the suggestion that the effect of adult participation depends upon the kind of play activity is not contradicted.

The right side of Table 4 deals with utterances made by individual children during comparable episodes. Children 10 and 11 were 4;5 and 3;7 years old, and they often played together although child 10 had poor communications skills. Using the criteria for pragmatic disorders put forward by McTears (1985), he lacked attention-getting devices, and he also had problems with respect to turntaking and the establishment of reference. He often showed an inappropriate or irrelevant use of language, a restricted range of speech acts, and a low ability to repair conversational breakdown.

Tables 4 and 7 show that child 11 had a greater number of instructional, socialemotional and dialogue supporting utterances and less instrumental and directing utterances than child 10. Thus, with the exception of intellectual utterances, the general tendencies of good vs. poor communication are also found here. However, the difference between the children is not reflected by the formal quality of their utterances; in fact, child 10's utterances are longer than those of child 11.

With respect to teacher participation, child 10 is during construction play (columns (6) - (7) in Table 4) less affected than child 11 during role

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	ROLE PLAY		CONSTRUCTION PLAY		ROLE PLAY	CONSTRUCTION PLAY		ROLE PLAY		CONSTR. PLAY			"TEACHING"	
TEACHER	ABSENT	ACTIVE	ABSENT	ACTIVE	ABSENT	ABSENT	ACTIVE	ABSENT	ACTIVE	ABSENT	ABSENT		ACTIVE	
SPEAKER(S)	CHILDR.	CHILDR.	CHILDR.	CHILDR.	No.10	No.10	No.10	No.11	No.11	No.11	No. 6	No.14	No.14	Teacher
COLUMN	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
COMMUNICATIVE VALUE														
- answers & answered (1)	23	27	21	28	21	13	14	14	29	28	19	46	55	39
- answers (2)	18	20	15	18	18	11	17	14	9	21	20	21	16	27
- answered (3)	13	16	13	12	7	19	6	19	13	14	28	4	17	21
- neither-nor (4)	24	13	23	15	16	12	14	23	9	7	30	7	5	12
- private (5)	23	24	28	27	38	45	49	31	41	30	4	21	8	0
UTTERANCE FUNCTION														
- intellectual	12	16	11	18	10	7	5	7	14	9	14	10	26	14
- instructional	15	8	5	7	11	4	3	14	4	4	34	1	2	40
- social-emotional	26	18	21	20	15	15	9	23	15	21	17	13	19	11
- directing-instrumental	18	19	27	16	16	28	23	17	21	23	11	6	5	13
- dialogue supporting	11	15	7	13	17	1	10	12	15	11	8	39	28	22
- self directing	18	23	29	26	26	45	50	27	30	33	15	18	18	0
MEAN LENGTH OF UTTERANCE	5.2	5.1	4.7	5.3	5.6	5.0	5.6	5.1	4.2	4.5	4.3	1.2	1.5	4.6
NUMBER OF UTTERANCES	2300	1012	396	1004	82	75	137	147	79	127	296	184	170	183

Table 4. Some results from groups of children and individual children respectively in daycare centre I.

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Child No:	3		4		5		11	
Age	6;5		6;8		6;6		3;7	
Adult participation	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Utterance function:								
- intellectual	10	15	11	15	15	21	7	14
- instructional	17	14	6	14	11	23	14	4
- social-emotional	29	11	26	11	38	21	23	15
- instrum.-directing	17	22	30	22	12	14	17	20
- dialogue supporting	8	15	15	15	7	2	12	15
- self directing	13	22	12	22	14	16	27	30
Total numerical diff.	47		45		44		34	
N	351	179	144	163	168	43	147	79

Table 5. Four children from kindergarten I. The distributions of utterances (%) in role play without and with adult participation.

Children	all	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 11
Utterance function:					
- intellectual	+	+	+	+	+
- instructional	-	-	++	++	--
- social-emotional	--	--	--	--	--
- instrumental		+	--		+
- dialogue supporting	+	+		-	+
- self directing	+	++	++		+

Table 6. The impact of teacher participation upon utterance function during role play, cf. Table 5 and Table 4, columns (1) and (2).
+ & -: increase & decrease 3-7 %
++ & --: increase & decrease at least 8 %.

Activity	Role play Adult absent	Constr. Adult absent	Constr. Absent Active	Role play Absent Active
Child	No. 10 No. 11	No. 10 No. 11	No. 10	No. 10
Utterance function:				
- intellectual	-			+
- instructional	+			--
- social/emotional	++	+	-	--
- instrumental		-	-	+
- dialogue supporting	-	++	++	+
- self directing		--	+	+

Table 7. Right: The impact of teacher participation upon children 10 & 11, cf. Tables 4 & 6. In the colums on the left child 11 is compared with child 10 (cf. Table 4):

play (columns (8) - (9)), but with the exception of instrumental utterance functions, there are no incongruences.

It must be pointed out here that child 10 did not usually take part in role play, because the other children did not want him to join them, claiming that he did not know how to do it. However, when the teacher persuaded him to engage himself in a dramatic play with child 11, his 'communicative values' as well as his use of utterance functions improved. As shown in column (5) of Table 4, he produced a greater number of proper communicative and fewer private utterances, and he had more intellectual, instructional and dialogue supporting, and fewer instrumental and directing utterance functions during this "teacher initiated role play without teacher".

Finally, in Table 4 we also present some observations of certain episodes of 'teaching', ie. episodes during which the preschool teacher or an older child, child 6, tried to stimulate the youngest one in the group, child 14, to speak and take part in the interaction. Although his linguistic, pragmatic and social skills were rather poor, it appears (columns (12) - (13) that the close attention of a mature partner made him speak quite well. It must be mentioned that utterances with 'intellectual' functions in no way necessarity deal with intellectual matters, and that 'dialogue-supporting' utterances very often consist in saying "yes" or "no" appropriately. Nevertheless, it is clear that child 14 did act as a speaker-listener and performed various speech acts. Table 8 shows how the teacher accommodates her speech when she teaches child 14.

Utterance functions	"Teaching"	All episodes
Intellectual	14	18
Instructional	40	32
Social-emot.	11	13
Directing	13	17
Dialogue supp.	22	20
Mean length	4.6	6.5
N	183	862

Table 8. The teacher in kindergarten I (in percentage).

It is also interesting to see that although child 6 did not differ much from the teacher with respect to utterance functions (columns (11) and (14) in Table 4), the teacher made child 14 use more intellectual and social-emotional, and fewer dialogue supporting utterances than did child 6. This may be due to the fact that the preschool teacher was more inclined to accommodate her utterances to the actual interests of child 14 than the older playmate was. On the other hand, child 6 spontaneously appreciated that child 14 fell in with the rather primitive symbolic play which she tried to introduce (cf. Vedeler 1985, ch. 9).

Language of learning and teaching in preschools.

In summary, this preliminary analysis suggests that, from a communicative and functional point of view, young children's use of language depends upon (1) the kind of play activity and (2) the participation of the preschool teacher and her use of language, which undoubtedly reflects her attitudes and personality. Thus some teachers are more inclined to take part in role play and even to initiate and further that kind of play than other teachers.

We have maintained that frequent use of intellectual, instructive, social-emotional, and dialogue-supporting utterances (cf. Table 1) means a better use of language and so a higher communication skill. This may appear inappropriate since the evaluation of a person's use of language must take the context into account. Thus in some situations it is extremely relevant to direct another person's behaviour and in other situations it is relevant to support and plan one's own behaviour.

However, our observations have shown that, in general, frequent use of the four types in connected with more active participation in the interaction of a play group, and they have also shown that, in general, role play gives rise to these kinds of speech acts, and implies a higher proportion of communicative utterances. This in understandable because, during role play, children have to interact, and they have to change speaker position very often, as they sometimes 'are' other persons (eg. the father, the nurse, the hunter), and sometimes are themselves, stating what is going on and so creating a fictive context for the play (eg. the father now leaves the home, that the nurse must call the doctor, or that the hunter follows the track of a bear). Furthermore, at other times they suspend the role play and talk about other things, solve social problems of disagreement within the group, etc.

Although such activities cannot be called 'teaching', they may well be educational and, in any case, they imply 'learning', ie. learning about language, communication and interpersonal relationships as well as about the professions, localities, events, etc., that are objects for the dramatizations. Our observations suggest so far that young children, and children with poor communication skills, improve their use of language and their social behaviour through role play.

As concerns the language of preschool teachers, two main types may be distinguished: a language of teaching and a language of ordinary adult-child communication. The former may be further divided into a language of proper teaching to be used when the children are taught about various things and a language of language training to be used deliberately for language stimulation (cf. Table 4 column (14)).

However, children clearly develop their linguistic and communicative skills as they take part in oridinary communication with teachers and playmates. Our observations suggest that the analysis of utterance functions may reveal differences between teachers as to how they communicate when they participate in the play of the children. These differences may turn out to be connected with a differentiation between language of teaching and language of communication on the part of the individual teacher. On the part of the children, these differences in teacher speech may well be important for the development of independent thinking.

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SOME ASPECTS OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION

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ABSTRACT

In this paper a short outline of a model for analyzing classroom interaction is given. A part of this model concerns the way in which turn-taking is managed. The turn-regulating cues which teacher and pupils use are presented and discussed in detail. Finally the possible consequences of participants' different conversational styles for the outcome of the learning process is discussed under two headings: competitive and cooperative interaction.

1. Introduction

In this paper I shall concentrate on two issues of the comprehensive research domain called classroom interaction.

The first issue concerns the way in which the teacher and pupils take turns at speaking. Although formal conversation in classrooms is characterized by an asymmetrical distribution of speakers' rights, real conversations display a register of different ways of practising these rights.

The second issue has to do with the possible relations between ways of interacting and the outcome of the teaching and learning process.

2. Method (materials)

Recently I have been collecting empirical data consisting of 37 audiotaped Danish lessons from 6 different classes at three different schools. I shall not be able to report the final results of this investigation. In the discussion of the turn-taking system, however, I shall use examples from the data collected to illustrate some of my points.

One of the most important and useful approaches to the analysis of classroom interaction is the model introduced and used by Sinclair and

Coulthard (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). Like other analysts working in this specialized field of applied linguistics I have, in my own study and model for analysis, been heavily influenced by concepts and methods developed by Sinclair and Coulthard.

My aims for developing a model for analysis are different from the aims put up by Sinclair and Coulthard, however. They saw it as their most important goal to describe the different ways in which the teacher and pupils utilize classroom conversation as a means in the teaching/learning process. To that end I have developed a model for analyzing teaching/learning conversations. And I shall give a short outline of this model before I say anything about the turntaking system.

2.2. Aspects of analyzing classroom interaction

There are three aspects of classroom conversation which should be given close attention.

The first concerns the way in which context is signaled through the use of person, place and time deixis. The speaker's use of deictic terms can tell us something about the speaker's experience of relations between speakers and between speaker and what is spoken about. Furthermore, the extensive use of deictic terms puts serious constraints on listeners' cognitive processing and may cause difficulties in understanding what is being referred to. Surely this is an important factor in the learning process. Together with references to previous conversations and to the ongoing conversation (the discourse deixis) the person, time and place deixis are placed in the model under the headline "Context".

The second aspect of interest has to do with the ways in which the discourse develops. The focus is on the process of verbal interaction. How is the turntaking organized? What kind of conflicts arise and what seems to cause these procedural problems? Under the headline "Confrol Functions" I have also placed the description of speech acts and utterance functions and the quantitative distribution of amount of speech.

The third aspect of interest in the analysis of classroom conversations concerns the topic of the conversation. The meaning of the term "topic" in discourse analysis is much debated, and surely it is not easy to define.

The notion of topic, however, seems to be so important as one of the organising principles of conversations that we can hardly do without it. Time does not allow for me to take up this discussion. Instead I refer to

Brown and Yule (1983). The definitions proposed by these two authors constitute the basis of my own approach to the question.

2.3. Conversational Style

As mentioned earlier I shall concentrate on the way in which the teacher and pupils take turns at speaking. In a formal setting like the classroom the turntaking system could be expected to be controlled solely by the teacher, as the teacher has the formal power to establish rule for the interaction and demand that these rules be followed. But teachers must be sensitive to the pupils' reactions to the set of rules that they try to implement. Otherwise the intended interaction may fail totally. In real classrooms of today, at least in the classrooms I have visited, the turntaking system is in many cases a result of the participants' competing interests in taking part in the interaction. In rare cases the turntaking is established through negotiation between the teacher and pupils. Of course, it is still true that the teacher is the stronger participant in conversations, and she is also the one who, most of the time, decides what to talk about or what activity the pupils should be engaged in. But there are differences in the ways in which teachers apply the means of controlling the classroom processes. And these differences are realized through different conversational styles. The term conversational style is borrowed from the works of Deborah Tannen (1984). She states (Tannen 1984: 19):

> Conversational style, then, results from the need to serve basic human needs in interaction. Similarly the linquistic strategies that make up conversational style do not exist in a vacuum but arise in response to the strategies used by the others in the interaction.

The basic human needs in interaction which Tannen refers to are the conflicting needs of humans to be involved with other people and at the same time to maintain their individual integrity.

According to Tannen, speakers signal the degree of involvement by using different linguistic devices. In Tannen, whose is a description of informal conversations between friends, the linguistic devices are features like choice and shift of topic, pacing, narrative strategies, and expressive paralinguistics.

Although my study aims at describing formal conversations in an institutional setting, I find the notion of conversational style very useful.

The dimension, however, along which the characterizing of conversational style should be carried out cannot be the involvement-considerateness dimension of Tannen. There are too many differences in purpose of interaction, number of participants, and social relations between participants in the two types of interaction. The dimension in a study of classroom conversation is rather along the control-spontaneity line. The choice of a control-spontaneity dimension indicates that the perspective lies with the teacher. This perspective is relevant because the teacher has decisive influence on the conversational process. Deciding the rules for taking turns is one of the important means by which a teacher can signal what kind of control she wants to exercise over the conversation.

I shall now consider in detail some of the turn-regulating signals used by teacher and pupils in the turntaking system.

2.3.1. Turn-regulating cues

Following Glahn (Glahn and Holmen 1985) I shall divide the turn-regulating cues or signals into:

1. turn-claiming
2. turn-keeping
3. turn-yielding cues or signals

In classroom conversations a major group of turn-claiming cues are non-verbal signals which pupils give, by raising their hands, eg. to answer a question, to ask a question or to tell something. This turn-claiming cue may be accompanied by pupils shouting or saying "here".

Another way of trying to get the floor is by interrupting the current speaker. I classify interruptions as turn-claiming cues, whether the interrupting speaker in fact does get the floor or not. In the descriptions of such turnclaiming cues I distinguish between:

a. accepted
b. objected
c. neglected interruptions

Accepted interruptions are interruptions which pass uncommented by the other participants in the conversation, and the interrupting speaker takes the floor.

Objected interruptions are interruptions which are commented on by another participant, in most cases the teacher. Objected interruptions do nevertheless form a part of the conversation, and they are in some sense successful contributions to the interaction.

The last group of interruptions are *neglected interruptions*. Neglected interruptions are contributions which are not commented on or which form a part of the ongoing discourse. Neglected interruptions can be feedback utterances from pupils to what has been said by the teacher or by other pupils, or they can be utterances with no direct connection to what has been said. In the following example the teacher is interrupted twice when she is trying to explain a note to the children. The first interruption is overheard, but the second interruption makes the teacher stop her explanation and comment on the interruption. The start of her utterance is a mild reproach, but almost immediately she changes her strategy and tries to utilize the pupil's remark in a constructive way.

// marks beginning of interruption
] marks end of interruption
dec ...

(1) teacher: $\overset{\searrow 2}{\text{first}}$ I have this note for you about the
Zoo on Monday // |

first pupil: $\overset{\xrightarrow{1}}{\text{may}}$ I distribute // them Karen |

teacher: $\overset{\searrow 2}{\text{and}}$ it says nothing in particular // |
but

second pupil: $\overset{\searrow 2}{\text{I}}$ am going to the Zoo on Saturday |

teacher: (mildly scolding) $\overset{\xrightarrow{1}}{\text{Morten}}$ | . will $\overset{\xrightarrow{1}}{\text{you}}$
please . then you can see what is most
exciting to look at out there right |
(........)

Glahn describes the second group of turn-regulating cues in this way:

> The turnkeeping cues are the linguistic and paralinguistic signals by which speakers express that they want to keep the floor.

Again I shall adapt Glahn's concept of turn-keeping cues to the description of classroom conversation. Glahn mentions the use of pause fillers like "and", "er" as turn-keeping signals. She also points to participants' movements of heads and eyes as belonging to this group of signals.

My empirical data consists of audiotaped lessons however, and I shall not be able to include this aspect in the analysis. I believe that intonation and sociocentric expressions like "you", "or something" and "what is it called" must be added to the list of turn-keeping cues as well as shifts in speech volume and pace.

My description of intonation contours rests on Thorsen's (1976) investigations of utterance intonation in Danish. Thorsen (1976) summarizes her findings this way:

> Looking at the statements and the questions as singular events, their contours may be described thus: The intonation contour i.e. Fo of the stressed syllables, describes a smooth slanting slope in statements. (......) In intonation questions the contour seems to be almost horizontal. In the remaining questions the contours are more or less slanting slopes between these two extremes.

Following Thorsen I distinguish between three intonation contours. Intonation contour 1, which displays the most horizontal lapse, and intonation contour 3, which describes a slanting slope. In between these two contours I locate an intonation contour which is actually more of a continuum of contours than the others.

Discrimination between contour 1 and contour 2 will remain certain in many cases. What makes the discriminating between the three intonation contours attractive is that speakers seem to be oriented towards an intonation which clearly signals continuation. This must be compared to the use of intonation contrours 1 and 3, which are potentially turn-yielding signals. But I am still far from having solved the problems involved in the intonation contours.

The third group of turn-regulating signals consists of turn-yielding cues which speakers use to show that they want another speaker to take a turn in the conversation. Questions adressed to individuals or questions with no adressee are the strongest turn-yielding signals. In classrooms most of the questions are asked by the teacher, and the few questions which pupils ask often concern procedural problems like what, when and how pupils are expected to do something. Besides using questions, the teacher and pupils also use intonation to signal that they want another participant to take the floor. Intonation contours 1 and 3 are potentially such turn-yielding signals.

3. Ways of interacting

One can characterize the *conversational style* of the participants. The basis for such a characterization is the analysis of the following: (1) their use of turn-regulating cues in conversation; (2) comparing these observations with utterance functions; and (3) comparing these observations with the way in which topical coherence is obtained.

I shall briefly illustrate the connection between conversational styles and ways of interacting in the classroom. Let us look at two extremely different conversational styles used by teachers.

In the course of the following presentation I will touch upon the other issue of my paper, the possible relations between ways of interacting and the outcome of the teaching and learning process. The following features seem to characterize two extremely different ways of interacting determined by teachers' different conversational styles.

Interaction	COMPETITIVE	COOPERATIVE
Turntaking	rules for turntaking often violated / many procedural problems	rules for turntaking generally followed / few procedural problems
Exchanges	teacher directions frequent/pupil informations non frequent	teacher informations elicitations frequent pupil informations occur
Amount of speech	teacher 2/3 or more pupils 1/3 or less the pupils' contributions short and containing mainly answering moves	teacher around 1/2 pupils around 1/2 pupils' contributions are relatively long and contain both answering and opening moves

	COMPETITIVE	COOPERATIVE
Choice of topic and coherence	only teacher-introduced topics accepted as conversational topics	both teacher-and pupil-intoroduced topics can be conversational topics
	topical coherence is established through the teacher's agenda for the lesson	topical coherence is established through nogetiation between the teacher and pupils

4. Discussion

What do the pupils learn when participating in these two types of interaction? I cannot give the final answer to this question. I can only indicate the possible direction and content of such an answer.

It is tempting to suppose that pupils participating in a competitive type of interaction learn at least two things.

First, they learn that knowledge is something that the teacher possesses and that they can obtain by carefully reproducing what the teacher has said or what can be read in books. At the same time, knowledge is represented as static, impersonal and final by the teacher. This perception of knowledge may be taken over by the pupils. This may determine not only the pupils' understanding of school subjects but also their future approach to the production and use of knowledge in education and occupation.

Secondly, the competitive type of interaction gives the pupils a passive discourse role. This means that they can only use a smaller part of their competence as speakers of a language, and furthermore that the development of their communicative competence is not being encouraged through classroom interaction. The difference between what pupils can do with words and their chance of doing it becomes too large.

A cooperative way of interacting does not have all the shortcomings of competitive interaction, but trying to cooperate in classroom conversations is not without problems. First of all, there are the problems which arise if pupils and teachers are not convinced that knowledge should be treated as dynamic/ever changing and that getting knowledge demands that learners, in one way or another, take active part in the process of understanding.

Furthermore, cooperative interaction is not easy to combine with most teachers' understanding of their roles as representatives of the school as a social institution. Teachers often feel that many parents and pupils expect a teacher behaviour which reminds very much of the described competitive type of interaction. Other ways of organizing the conversations will be seen as inadequate and bad teaching.

So when teachers try to implement a more cooperative way of interacting, they can easily be confronted with non-coperative behaviour from pupils and criticism from the pupils' parents. These problems should not, however, make teachers refrain from trying to create interaction from which learners can learn to benefit.

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VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN THE CLASSROOM

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ABSTRACT

Education may be looked upon as a form of (verbal) communication. Opinions concerning the part of language played in pedagogical communication differ according to the stress put on the teacher (language as a means of transferring knowledge), the pupils (language as a means of learning), or the communicative process itself (teaching-learning as communicative interaction or dialogue). Nowadays, next to the study of the characteristics of teacher and pupil talk, research on verbal interaction in the classroom takes a new start. This change in perspective is realised through an ethnographic methodology.

1. Education as a form of communication

"Je ne répéterai jamais assez que nous donnons trop de pouvoir aux mots: avec notre éducation babillarde, nous ne faisons que des babillards" (I can't but repeat: we give too much power to words: our babbling ecucation only creates babblers).

I read these lines, which obviously express the feelings of many educationists in the Nordic (and not so Nordic) countries, in a book written more than 200 years ago. Indeed, they are quoted from the French philosopher of education J.-J. Rousseau, the Benjamin Spock of his time. Education makes use of words, of language and, as Rousseau feared, in his Emile ou de l'éducation, sometimes in overdose, thereby causing educational inflation.

Rousseau's statement also implicitly points at a distinction which many educationists are willing to make with him, namely one between the process and the product of education. This distinction, however handy it may be, distracts the attention from the conceptual unity of education. It could rather be the case that the range of activities, both formal and informal, whereby people are initiated into, or realigned with, the evolving traditions, structures and social relations should be taken to constitute their education. Education has essentially to do with learning, but it remains an open question, not only in the language domain, whether all learning requires teaching.

Educating and teaching (intended or not) can be viewed as transactions of the type 'by doing activity P, person A was x-ing person B'. Kleinig (1982), following H. Freeman, calls them perficienary transactions; educate/teach are thus, from this pragmatic point of view, perficient (X-ing) verbs (belonging to the same class as hurt, interrupt, offend, dominate, inspire, reform ...) rather than activity verbs. When the educational relationship is dialogical, learning can be in-depth and critical.

The intellectual exercises of Kleinig and other philosophers of education can revitalise the discussions in educational circles on items such as the relative isomorphy (of terms like) between educating/teaching, socialisation/education, education/communication. It is, for example, to stick to the latter pair, not unusual for educationists to regard education as (a form of) (primarily verbal) communication. Obviously, a general view like this, leaves room for different interpretations, depending on the definitions of sender and receiver in the communication process.

1.1. The traditional concept: teacher-centred

A traditional educator/teacher centred interpretation considers language the means 'par excellence' for the transmission and evaluation of linguistically 'canned' knowledge. The teacher is regarded a as non-stop broadcaster, the pupils are to standby, receive and, occasionally, 're-broadcast'. Becoming a pupil means for the young child adaptation to a situation in which the omnipresence of the words (of the teacher) is a predominant, constant, and systematic fact (Bruner 1971: 65). Does he fail to do so, class will become a 'linguistic Passchendaele' (Hawkins 1981: 226) for him very soon.

A large part of the manifest curriculum, the subject matter, is transmitted by the teacher in monologues. Traditional teacher profiles point at the necessity of a 'good verbal ability': is the teacher not earning his living by means of speech, a realisation of a sociolect and a subject-related idiom? Moreover he holds the floor, he defines who can speak or, for that matter, who is not allowed to. If the permission is granted, the decision regarding the relevance of the pupil's message remains with the teacher (Coulthard 1974: 237).

1.2. The 'modern education' concept: centred on the pupil

Now, let us turn to views that centre on the learner, views that have been influenced by modern developmental psychology and (cognitive) learning psychology. They emphasize the possibility of language as a means of learning. The acquisition of concepts and skills is intimately linked with learning to use language to come to grips with concepts and to execute skills mentally. Language regarded as 'frozen activity' (Tymister 1978: 165) can become a means for the pupil to reconstruct and interpret the extralinguistic reality.

To know something or to be able to do something is intimately linked with the ability to question and frame the world outside linguistically. Thus, classes should embody opportunities for such activities to take place. Educating is a matter of questioning, not so much putting of questions, but rather the creation of adequate constructions, be they linguistic and/or sensorial, that raise questions in the learner (Hodgkin 1975: 9). Moreover, it is suggested that in a learner-oriented view the success of educational communication should be defined in terms of learners (see for example Peters 1968: 19, 20).

1.3. The 'integrated' concept: process-centred

Today, the thesis 'education is communication' can no longer be defended without taking into account the developments and research generated in some disciplines. The focus is no longer on either the sender or the receiver, but rather on the mechanics of educational discourse, its constraints, aims and functions in a larger context.

For example, humanistic psychopedagogy, calls for teaching-learning processes that are characterized by dialogue. The creed is: education is for dialogue and through dialogue or not at all (Jourard 1978; Freire 1972). Humanistic educationists do not centre on the roles of teacher and learner, but rather emphasize the growth of man, of personality through this typically human way of being and realising what is (educational) discourse.

Another example may be found in communicative didactics, whose advocates consider the teaching-learning process as an interactive and communicative process which credits the participants with intentions, expectations, needs and interests (see for example Watzlawick et al. 1962).

The emphasis is on the emancipatory character of educationally valid learning/teaching: this presupposes interchangeability of roles, little psychological distance between participants, consensual agreement on the ways of evaluating and communicating. Educating is regarded as an attempt by teachers and pupils alike to create a personal and social unity through communication (Siller 1976: 42).

Recent years have also shown the blossoming of a more empirical (or ecological) linguistics, which is gradually becoming more macrolinguistic in its focus. The application of basic techniques of (interactional) sociolinguistics and ethnography has given rise to a growing amount of data on the processes by which models of educability are put into daily practice. These studies reflect a genuine interest in the different ways in which teachers and pupils together, in classrooms, construct the day-to-day reality of the social process of the transmission of knowledge (Titone 1978: Titone and Danesi 1985).

2. The study of communication in classrooms

In his Life in classrooms (1968: 175), written some 20 years ago, P.W. Jackson wrote that "classroom researchers are beginning to turn to disciplines other than psychology and educational measurement for their methods of analyzing classroom phenomena". He refers to anthropological field study and participant observation. Probably this remark originated from a dissatisfaction with prestructured schemes for observation and analysis which were designed to retrieve information concerning the cognitive and emotional characteristics of educational discourse through teacher talk. And indeed, the more qualitative bottom-up techniques of participant observation for getting inside the classroom, for getting a larger picture of the educational scene, the nonjudgemental orientation and the explicit aim of contextualizing data have forced many educationists to question data obtained from the application of quantitative top-down studies.

2.1. Teacher-centred

The study of verbal communication in the class in a traditional, teacher-centred view of education is characterized by a methodology that aims at objective observation and analysis of teacher talk. In most cases the final aim was didactic: how does teacher talk stimulate the language and cognitive development of the pupils? (Prucha 1973). Special attention was given to questions asked by the teacher. These studies often used schemes for the observation of interaction which were, however, not necessarily designed for the study of verbal interaction in the classroom.

The best known is undoubtedly FIAC (Flander's (1970) Interaction Analysis Categories). This system distinguishes ten categories of linguistic behaviour in the class: seven deal with teacher talk, two with pupil talk, one is a 'litter category' for 'silence and confusion'. Though FIAC have been critisized for several reasons (for example, little attention for non-verbal aspects of communication, too atomistic), they have been used in many studies of communication in the classroom.

It is no surprise that so much attention has been given to teacher talk. In traditionally framed classes, the teacher claims the bulk of the speaking time. This can be explained as follows (Delamont 1976): the first strategy of a teacher is often to thrust his definition of class, teaching, education. This is largerly realized by means of language. So, the teacher talks and talks. FIAC studies have shown that two-thirds of the traditionally run classes consist of talking, of which two-thirds consists of teacher talk, two-thirds of which consists mainly of giving directions, evaluating, ets.

As was said before, traditional research into the influence of teacher talk on learning makes use of prestructured schemes and quantitative data. Some examples may illustrate this. Bennett (1973) investigated the relation between certain instructional strategies and the ways in which a teacher interacts verbally with the pupils. It becomes clear that the way in which education is framed or organised has repercussion on the amount of 'silence and confusion' or on the balance between teacher talk and pupil talk (eg. Gruber 1977). Other studies correlated opinions on discipline with amount of teacher talk (eg. Rexford, Willower and Winch 1972) or tried to dig up hard data for the negative influence of the lack of balance between teacher and pupil talk on the independent thinking and activity of students (Measel and Mood 1972). There have also been investigations into the relative effect of indirect (accepting the pupils' ideas, feelings, encouraging, questioning and direct (lecturing, critisizing, directing) behaviour of the teacher. Not inspired by Flanders are studies in some aspects of teacher talk, such as his intonation. For example, Brazil (1976) showed that by means of their intonation teachers clearly differentiate between those (unmarked) parts of the message which they suppose to be known by the pupils and those (marked) parts which signal the fact that they are new.

Educationists have always been interested in the kind of questions asked by the teacher. Questioning indeed makes up a fair amount of the total amount of teacher talk, though it is well known that the larger part of the questions is not supposed to be answered by pupils or is answered by the teacher himself. It has also often been established that only a very small proportion of the teacher's questions are of the opinionating kind, pertaining to values or choices. Most questions seem to ask for a reproduction of known information. A vast factory of literature on educational questioning exists. But only relatively recent research shows that questions do not always do the job they are supposed to do in didactic theory. Good illustrations are found in ongoing investigations by Dillon (1985). He shows, for example, that questions foil discussion among pupils: if you want your students to talk more, explore and speculate more, make references to personal experiences, introduce more topics, etc., use alternatives to questions; they may foster discussion (for example, the teacher might use a declarative statement to reflect the student's view or to express his own views).

2.2. Pupil-centred

The study of pupil talk seems to concentrate on two aspects. First, there are investigations into first language development (after the first stages). A central issue here is the question of how the view on language acquisition as the ability to communicate through language in situationally contextualized conversation can be applied to learning in the school. But what is clearly of more interest is the discussion concerning the influence of sociocultural background on language development and its relevance for education. Could some groups of pupils, by virtue of the interpretive rules to which they are accustomed in their subcommunity, find the learning of the cultural capital more difficult, because of the added burden of having to acquire a repertoire of classroom-specific interpretive procedures many of which will not be reinforced in any other setting? Thanks to the vast research in this area, educationists cannot but shift their attention from formal-structural aspects of pupil talk to functional and content aspects. The old dictum 'to teach is to talk, to learn is to listen' should at least be rephrased into 'to teach is to listen, to learn is (also) to speak'.

2.3. Process-centred

A more process-focused approach studies verbal interaction in the class as a form of conversation. The interest in conversation cannot only be noticed in studies of educational discourse but also in other situations: for example, psychologist-testee (Cicourel et al. 1974), medical doctor-patient (Cicourel 1977), psychotherapist-client (Labov and Fanshel 1977), lawyer-client, researchers in a high-teach lab (de Waele 1985). Questions asked here include the way in which the roles of speaker/listener are attributed and realised linguistically, how topics are introduced and closed, which verbal strategies are used by the participants to get what they want, how the flow of language is sequenced, and how separate utterances are interpreted in the larger context. Educational communication seems to be an interesting topic for research, if only for technical reasons: variables can be reduced, at least in traditionally conducted classes, the "chalk and talk classes where the teacher stands out front and engages the students in some kind of pedagogical or linguistic pingpong" (Delamont and Hamilton 1976: 10-11).

The ethnolinguistic study of educational discourse has informed us on the underlying social norms. Typical examples here are known-answer questions which teachers, by virtue of their being in that position, may ask (Coulthard 1974; Harrod 1977). This and other, often lengthy, observations on the 'verbal cuisine' (Hymes 1986) made out by particular sets of teachers and pupils of common ingredients have shed light on the hidden curriculum and the way it is learned. For example, Stubbs (1976) has pointed out some metacommunicative functions through which the hidden curriculum is transmitted and the linguistic traffic in the class is managed.

Scholars like Gumperz (1985) have argued that verbal interaction in classroom settings in guided by a process of conversational inference which relies on participants' perception of verbal and non-verbal cues that contextualize the stream of daily talk activity. By means of these cues, participants recognize speech activities as wider sequences of talk through which contexts are recongnizable. In this way, 'schemata' are created and signaled by participants to function as frames for each other's situated interpretations. Schematic knowledge thus provides the overall perspective which enables us to integrate what we hear with what we know.

During the past two decades, educationists have witnessed the above very productive shift in the analysis of verbal interaction in the classroom. A whole scale of more or less categorial systems, generated in real life educational interaction situations, are at their disposal now. Reference can here be made to some of them:

- Bellack et al. (1966) worked out a system based on pedagogical moves (structuring, soliciting, responding, reacting moves), which can be combined in teaching cycles;
- Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) described the transactions that make up lessons. Often these transactions begin with a marker, followed by a metautterance. They can be subdivided into exchanges: informing, directing, eliciting exchanges:
- The structure of eliciting exchanges (in the first year of the primary school) has, for example, been studied by Mishler (1975a, 1975b, 1978). He centred on dialogues in which teachers by means of questions hold control of the situation. His basic unit of analysis constitutes of 'question-answer-reaction'. When teachers start a sequence with a question, they can hold the floor by putting subsequent questions. They can confirm, or react to students' answers by means of questions (chaining). If a teacher receives a question asked by the pupils, he can always regain the initiative by responding by means of a question (arching). This gives evidence of the way an authoritatian relationship is realized verbally in education.

When we consider applying these systems, in research or for training purposes, it would be wise, however, to take Hymes's (1986) warning seriously. He argues that what goes on in given situations escapes dichotomies and frameworks with few dimensions, and reminds us at the same time of Goffman's words that you never work up your way through the same protocol twice.

The hope can only be expressed that educational practitioners will profit from the endeavours described above. In training colleges they should be instructed of the 'rules' of the pedagogical game, of the (verbal) actions by which they are educating, of the questioning and expanding rituals by which they are helping (young) people to make sense of the world, which is not easy a job anyway.

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TEXTS IN STUDY BOOKS
FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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ABSTRACT

In this paper an attempt is made to show some problems concerning text construction in textbooks for children as well as for grown-ups beginning to learn German, English, Swedish or Finnish as a foreign language. Methods worked out by textlinguists will be used to analyse some samples chosen from different textbooks. Authors of textbooks for beginners have often forgotten to take into account the dimension of situation when constructing their texts. The lack of the dimension of situation, however, leads to some characteristic traits on the level of text which are typical for the texttype 'text in textbooks for beginners'. These characteristics make it difficult for beginners as well as for more advanced learners to understand the texts, because they have not only to fight with words and grammar but also to create a communicative situation in texts in which signals pointing towards the communicative situations are missing.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Objective

In the present paper texts taken from textbooks for beginners of foreign languages will be analysed to show why it is often difficult even for native speakers to understand the texts. The analysis will be based on textlinguistic conceptions as developed by Brinker (1985).

1.2. Definitions

Communication takes place only in texts (see Schmidt 1976: 75ff; Arndt 1985:76; Viehwager 1985: 29ff.). Texts are the constitutive medium in which we communicate when speaking, writing or reading. Oral or written texts therefore are the basic category in which we communicate when learning foreign languages. To quote Viehwager (1985:30):

> 1. Texte sind die originäre Form sprachlicher Kommunikation. Wenn Menschen miteinander kommunizieren, wenn sie sprachlich handeln, dann sind die Resultate dieser Tätigkeit Texte
> 2. das Lernen mit Texten ist eine der grundlegenden Formen jeder unterrichtlichen wie auch ausserunterrichtlichen Tätigkeit im Fremdsprachenunterricht.

There is no general agreement within textlinguistics as to how to define a text. Here the communicative branch in textlinguistics will be followed which defines a text in the following way:

> Der Terminus 'Text' bezeichnet eine begrenzte Folge von sprachlichen Zeichen, die in sich kohärent ist und die als Ganzes eine erkennbare kommunikative Funktion signalisiert (Brinker 1985:17).

The reference to textbooks for beginners means books which are used during the first years of foreign language teaching. It is typical of the type of textbooks in question that they consist of short texts (often with little or no connection with each other) combined with grammatical explanations, exercises and wordlists. The texts are not taken from authentic sources but are artificially constructed from a grammatical and maybe a pedagogic point of view.

1.3. Material

The material for the present analysis comes from textbooks for beginning learners of German, Swedish, English and Finnish. The linguistic problems found in the artificial texts were similar in all textbooks. It is only for the purposes of illustration that a Finnish text and an English text were chosen for a closer analysis here (see Appendix 1).

1.4. The Method

The method chosen for the analysis of the texts is that of Brinker (1985). Grammatical and thematical coherence, textual theme and textual function (cf. Brinker 1985:20ff.) within the frame of textlinguistics.

2. The Analysis of the Texts

2.1. Grammatical Coherence

Brinker (1985:39) points out that grammatical coherence is of importance for the understanding of a text (see also Viehweger 1985:29). In his opinion grammatical coherence is to be found at the following levels:

> - textimmanent, das heisst: Die Beziehung zwischen Bezugsausdruck und wieder aufnehmendem Ausdruck wird im Text selbst hergestellt; sie ist in dieser Form nicht im sprachlichen System verankert.
> - sprachimmanent, das heisst: Die Beziehung zwischen Bezugsausdruck und wieder aufnehmendem Ausdruck ist im Sprachsystem verankert.
> - sprachtranszendent, das heisst: Die Beziehung zwischen Bezugsausdruck und wiederaufnehmendem Ausdruck transzendiert das Sprachsystem im engeren Sinne und gründet auf enzyklopädischen Erfahrungen und Kenntnissen der Kommunikationspartner, d.h. auf einer 'Semantik' im weitesten Sinn, die das Erfahrugswissen und die Weltkenntnis von Sprecher und Hörer mit einschliesst.

In the Finnish text we can find examples of 'sprachimmanent' coherence as concerns the persons involved: Peter M. and Pirkko Lind, who are introduced in the narrative by their proper names and referred to by means of proforms (hänelle, hän). Local coherence is gained by sequences such as hotellihuone...hotelli. The relations are usually constructed as anaphorical:[1]

> Ystävämme Peter M. on ensi kertaa Helsingissä. Hänellä ei ole vielä hotellihuonetta. Hän menee taksilla hotelli Grandiin. Hän on nyt Keskuskadulla. Sitten taksi kääntyy Keskuskadulta vasemmalle, Esplanadille, ja siinä hotelli jo on.

In the English text the acting persons (except one) are also introduced in the narrative. Coherence in terms of the persons is gained by means of proforms and by repeating the proper names:

> Mr. Cooper, Carol, Lynne, David and J.J. are sitting in a train. They are going to a football match. Lynne has got lemonade, apples, oranges and sandwiches in a big basket. Mr. Cooper is buying tickets ... David and J.J. are shouting and singing.

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[1] It would be interesting to find out if there are differences in the ways of producing coherent texts in English, German and Finnish.

'Textimmanent' coherence is to be bound, for instance in the Finnish text in sequences such as Helsinki, Keskuskatu, hotelli or huone, lämmintä vettä, puhelin.

In the English text there are sequences such as football-game, tickets, to shout and to sing.

'Sprachtranszendent' coherence in the English text is involved in the formulation 1 adult, 4 children, which refers to the status of the Cooper family. This is supposed to be known by the reader.

Both texts show inconsistencies in coherence which make it difficult for the reader to understand what is going on. In both cases the reason for these difficulties of comprehension is to be found in missing coherence links.

In the second part of the Finnish text we find the following sequences:

> Pirkko Lind on ostoksilla ja katselee hedelmiä. Ihania rypäleitä! - 'Saanko puoli kiloa näitä?' Tuolla on kauniita banaaneja. - 'Antakaa minulle kuusi kappaletta noita. Ja vielä pari sitruunaa.' - 'Voi, niitä meillä ei nyt ole, ne ovat lopussa.' Pirkolle tulee nälkä, hän menee ravintolaan ja tilaa pihvin. Ihana pihvi! Nyt vähän tätä (hän panee suolaa) ja sitten tuota (hän panee pippuria). - 'Haluatteko myös sinappia?' 'Ei kiitos, sitä minä en halua.'

An attempt is made to achieve coherence in terms of the persons acting by a reference to the proper name of Pirkko Lind. The second speaker, the seller, is never introcuded. Without any warning we come across with a third speaker, the waiter. Moreover, the text also includes Pirkko's reflections. In this way coherence in terms of the persons acting is lacking, which makes it difficult to understand what is going on.

In the English text there are no similar difficulties but in this text local coherence does not work. In the beginning we are told that the Coopers travel by train. But then the pictures in the book seem to indicate that we are paying for entrance and are shouting inside the stadium. In the text, however, there is no reference to any change of location. There are no references to locations after the very beginning.

The ambiguity in terms of location becomes even more pronounced through the unspecific way in which the man who sells the tickets is referred to. All this makes the construction of the meaning of the passage unnecessarily difficult.

2.1.2. Thematical Coherence

As is pointed out by Brinker, textual coherence is not only gained by means of grammatical coherence: there are also texts which show no means of grammatical coherence but there is no doubt about their being texts (Brinker 1985:38):

(21) Die Lampe brennt nicht. Die Sicherung ist durchgebrannt.
(22) Es hat ein Unglück gegeben. Zwei Autos sind zusammengestossen.
(23) Es war eine regnerische Nacht. Zwei Männer standen in einem Hauseingang und rauchten.

Brinker interprets the sentence in the following way:

> Bei den Satzfolgen (21)-(23) fehlen überhaupt alle syntaktisch-semantischen Verbindungssignale. Wir stufen sie aber ohne Zögern als kohärente Satzfolgen (also als Texte) ein. In Beispiel (21) liegt eine kausale Verknüpfung vor. Den im zweiten Satz beschriebenen Sachverhalt interpretieren wir als Ursache für die im ersten Satz ausgedrückte Proposition. In Beispiel (22) besteht die Verknüpfungsbeziehung in einer 'Spezifizierung des Ausdrucks EIN UNGLÜCK durch die Proposition des zweiten Satzes ('das Unglük bestand darin, dass...'). In Beispiel (23) gibt der erste Satz eine 'Situierung', den situativen. Rahmen für den zweiten.

The very opposite, ie. sentences showing grammatical coherence without being a text, can be found as well:

> (19) Ich habe eine alte Freundin in Hamburg getroffen. Dort gibt es zahlreiche öffentliche Bibliotheken. Diese Bibliotheken wurden von Jungen und Mädchen besucht. Die Jungen gehen oft in Schwimmbäder. Die Schwimmbäder waren im letzten Jahr mehrere Wochen geschlossen. Die Woche hat sieben Tage.
> Die vorliegende (konstruierte) Satzfolge ist durchgehend im Sinne des Prinzips der Wiederaufnahme verknüpft, kann aber trotzdem nicht als kohärent gelten. Das liegt wohl darin begründet, dass kein einheitliches
> Thema erkennbar ist... (Brinker 1985:37-38.)

Brinker thinks that a central element of textuality is 'thematic coherence'. Thematic coherence means that texts contain a 'theme' as the centre of the message. It can be found in the heading or it can be abstracted from the contents of the text. Besides the main theme there can be subthemes which are hierarchically subordinated to the main theme (Ableitungsprinzip). According to Brinker (1985:52), there must be a relationship between the main theme and the communicative function of the text (Kompatibilitätsprinzip).

In the Finnish text, however, thematic coherence is missing. The heading 'Reader' only refers to the function of the text, not to its contents. The Finnish text is divided into two texts (F_1 and F_2), which can by no means be combined by the principle of the main theme and subthemes. F_1 tells about Peter M's journey to Helsinki, and F_2 about Pirkko Lind doing her shopping. The heading however suggests that F_1 and F_2 are supposed to represent a text. No warning to the learner can be found as to F_1 and F_2 being two different texts on their own right.

There can be no doubt that foreign language learners will be lost, because even more than native speakers they are forced to rely on conventions which they are used to in order to anticipate what they are told in the language they are struggling with.

Even more disruptive is the manner of constructing thematical coherence which does not follow the rules which we are used to when writing a text. F_1 involves conversation which could never take place in the way given.

Figure 1 shows that there are no problems in the narrative parts of the text in question. The dialogue, however, does not work at all. The principle of the main theme and subthemes is observed in the beginning when Peter M. asks for a room having special wishes which are indicated (subtheme 1). The inquiry concerning the place where to change money introduces a new main theme. Peter is told that he can change money in the hotel (main theme 6) but at the same time he is offered a map of the city and given information about where to find shops without having asked for the information given. In everyday life such discourse would be situatively more embedded, or it would seem quite unmotivated because subtheme 2 cannot be subsumed under main theme 6. Main theme 7, however, seems totally unmotivated after the information about changing money in the hotel has been given. Main theme 7 seems to refer to subtheme 3 but no attention is paid to the fact that the problem of how to change money was solved in main theme 6.

It is somewhat problematic that learners of foreign languages are faced with dialogues whose thematic structures do not follow the rules by which discourse is constructed in the languages in question. The problem is that from text structures like those above they have to try and learn how to construct texts in the languages in question.

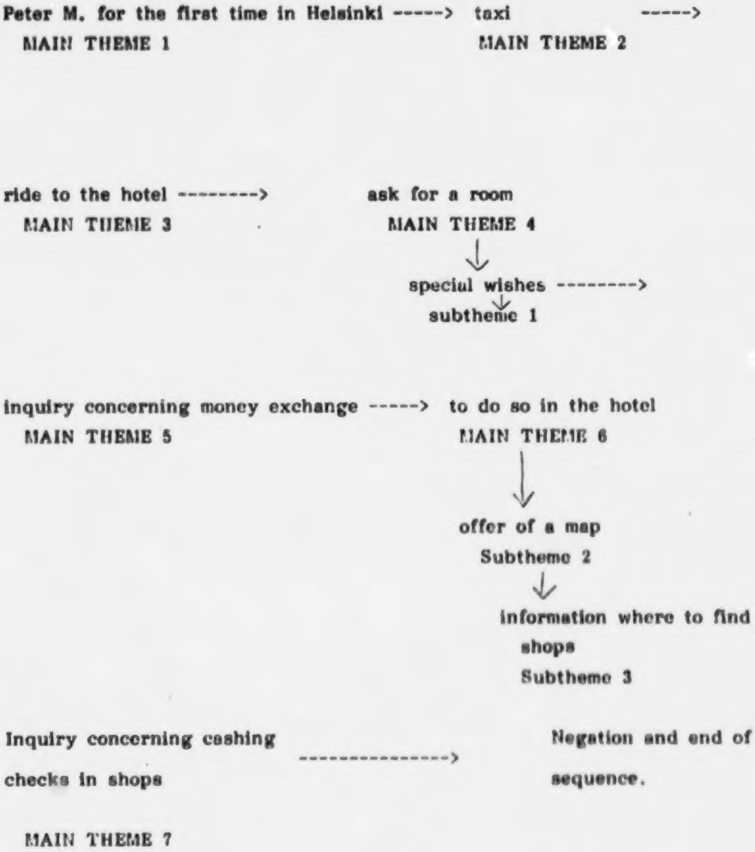
Peter M. for the first time in Helsinki -----> taxi ----->
MAIN THEME 1
MAIN THEME 2
ride to the hotel --------> ask for a room
MAIN THEME 3
MAIN THEME 4
special wishes -------->
subtheme 1
inquiry concerning money exchange -----> to do so in the hotel
MAIN THEME 5
MAIN THEME 6
offer of a map
Subtheme 2
information where to find shops
Subtheme 3
Inquiry concerning cashing checks in shops ---------------> Negation and end of sequence.
MAIN THEME 7

Figure 1. The narrative structure of the English text.

2.2. Communicative Function

Brinker (1985:77f.) defines communicative function in the following way:

> Unter Anknüpfung an diese allgemeinsprachliche Verwendung des Ausdrucks 'Funktion' kann der Terminus 'Textfunktion' ganz vorläufig definiert werden als der Sinn, den ein Text in einem Kommunikationsprozess erhält, bzw. als Zweck, den ein Text im Rahmen einer Kommunikationssituation erfüllt. Nun kann ein Text durchaus mehr als eine kommunikative Funktion signalisieren ... Als ... Beispiel sollen die Rundfunknachrichten angeführt werden. Dominant ist zwar die informative Textfunktion: sie besteht darin, dass der Emittent den Hörer über das Vorhandensein eines bestimmten Sachverhalts informiert. Da Nachrichtensendungen aber einen hohen Grad an Beliebtheit besitzen, ist ihnen auch eine gewisse Unterhaltungsfunktion nicht ganz abzusprechen ... Diese Beispiele machen bereits deutlich, dass für einen Text zwar durchaus mehrere Funktionen charakteristisch sein können, dass der Kommunikationsmodus des Textes insgesamt aber in der Regel nur durch eine Funktion bestimmt wird. Diese dominierende Kommunikationsfunktion bezeichnen wir als Textfunktion.

Here we find the reason for coherence breaks in the artificial texts of textbooks for beginning learners of foreign language. The purpose of the texts is to teach the language in question. Thus the heading 'Reader' in the Finnish text only expresses the communicative function of the text. The learner is supposed to read the text, to understand it, and to analyse it linguistically. He is not expected to be interested in Peter M's stay in Helsinki, in Pirkko Lind or in the Coopers. Therefore the texts have only been constructed linguistically. But the writers of the texts have forgotten that authentic texts are built according to the rules of textuality, texts have messages which have to be taken into account and, last but not least, texts are linked with communicative functions.

3. Conclusion

The way out is to use authentic texts or to construct texts in such a way that linguistic and pragmatic functions are combined. It is not difficult at all to teach how to ask questions by sending an Englishman to Lapland or a Finn to London. The Finn will get lost at once, and so he will be forced to learn how to ask questions. The Englishman who 'meni metsään' may have some problems in finding somebody who he can approach in Inari, for instance.

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Appendix 1.

READER

Ystävämme Peter M. on ensi kertaa Helsingissä. Hänellä ei ole vielä hotellihuonetta. Hän menee taksilla hotelli Grandiin. Hän on nyt Keskuskadulla. Sitten taksi kääntyy Keskuskadulta vasemmalle, Esplanadille, ja siinä hotelli jo on. - Onko teillä vapaita yhden hengen huoneita? Huoneessa täytyy olla lämmin vesi ja puhelin. Minulla on paljon hyviä ystäviä täällä ja haluaisin soittaa heille. - Meillä on pari vapaata huonetta, sanoo portieeri. Ensimmäisessä kerroksessa on yksi, mutta se on kadun puolella, se ei ehkä ole oikein rauhallinen. Mutta kuudennessa kerroksessa on myös vapaa huone, numero 692. - Se kuudennen kerroksen huone on ehkä parempi. - Jos haluatte, voin kyllä näyttää teille nämä huoneet. - Kiitos, mutta sanokaa minulle ensin, voitteko te vaihtaa minulle Suomen rahaa? Minulla on vain Englannin puntia. - Voimme kyllä. Saatte meiltä myös kaupungin kartan. Ottakaa vain kartta tältä pöydältä, ennen kuin lähdette ostoksille. Aivan lähellä hotellia on paljon suuria liikkeitä ja tavarataloja. - Entä vaihtavatko kaikki liikkeet matkashekkejä? - Muutamat kyllä, mutta ehkä on paras vaihtaa ne täällä tai pankissa.

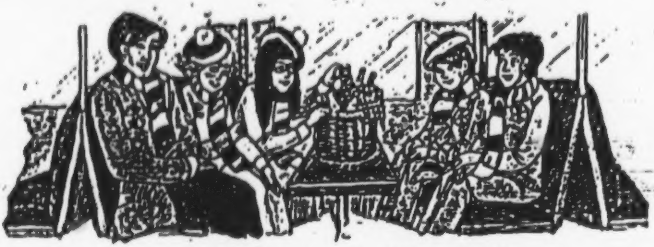
Pirkko Lind on ostoksilla ja katselee hedelmiä. Ihania rypäleitä! - "Saanko puoli kiloa näitä?" Tuolla on kauniita banaaneja. - "Antakaa minulle kuusi kappaletta noita. Ja vielä pari sitruunaa." - "Voi, niitä meillä ei nyt ole, ne ovat lopussa." Pirkolle tulee nälkä, hän menee ravintolaan ja tilaa pihvin. Ihana pihvi! Nyt vähän tätä (hän panee suolaa) ja sitten tuota (hän panee pippuria). - "Haluatteko myös sinappia?" - "Ei kiitos, sitä minä en halua."

(Aaltio 1969:83.)

18

THE FOOTBALL MATCH

Mr Cooper, Carol, Lynne, David and J.J. are sitting in a train. They are going to a football match. Lynne has got lemonade, apples, oranges and sandwiches in a big basket.



Mr Cooper is buying tickets.

Mr Cooper: One adult and four children, please.
Man: How old are you?
J.J: Eleven.
Man: You are very tall.
J.J: Yes, I am. But I am eleven.
Man: Hm... All right. That is £1.80, please.
Mr Cooper: Here you are.
Man: Thank you.

David and J.J. are shouting and singing:

1, 2, 3, 4,
Who is it we're shouting for?
E-N-G-L-A-N-D, England!

Webster 1979:24

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IS EQUALITY AND INDEPENDENT THINKING POSSIBLE IN AN ORAL TEST?

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports some of the findings of a research project currently in progress in the Education Department of the University of Stirling. The project team consists of Mary Kilborn, Richard Johnstone, Rosamund Michell and Diana Kent. This paper describes a small-scale action research study which looks at the effect of test design on pupil performance in a communicative oral test. In the first part of the study, a comparison between a structured and a more open test is made, from the point of view of the test's capacity to evaluate pupil ability to initiate and to take an active part in the test dialogue. The second part of the study focusses on pupil perception of the test task and its relation to pupil performance, again with respect to pupil initiation and the ability to play a directive part in the test conversation.

1. Introduction: the Scottish context

Reform of the Scottish system of assessment and certification for 16-year-olds (first recommended in the reports of the Munn and Dunning Committees in 1977) is at present underway. The new examination, entitled 'Standard Grade', is based on syllbuses at three levels (Foundation, General and Credit) and is designed for all pupils at the age of 16 (whereas the present 'Ordinary Grade' examination is intended for the more 'academic' pupils only). Performance descriptions ('Grade Related Criteria'), which form an attempt to move away from norm-referenced towards criterion-referenced assessment, have been devised for each subject to accompany the numerical grades awarded and these are at present being amended and simplified after a period of piloting in the schools.

Joint Working Parties were set up in the various subject areas to make implementation proposals based on the recommendations. The Modern Languages Joint Working Party, which first met in October 1982, published its report for French in June 1984 (the reports for German, Spanish, Italian and Russian came out in 1986). All the modern language reports have a number of significant features. First, there is to be an increased stress on oral skills: "The central pillar of the system is Speaking... Communication by the spoken word is of such vital importance that it must be raised to this central position, both in the assessment procedures and in the teaching processes in the classroom." Second, and as can be seen from the above quotation, the main aim in foreign language learning should be to develop communicative skills. In the words of the Report: "The syllabus and assessment arrangements have, as their primary objective, the development of communicative competence and confidence among the pupils. By this is meant the promotion of real language in real use, enabling the language learner above all to speak, listen and read in real-life situations."

In line with an increased emphasis on oral skills, the Joint Working Party recommends that 50% of the final Standard Grade mark in foreign languages be awarded for speaking. The speaking assessment is to be divided into two parts: (a) an on-going internal assessment based on normal class work and awarded by the class teacher, and (b) a final proficiency test conducted by a modern languages teacher other than the normal class teacher. The latter is to take the form of a face-to-face oral situation based on a role-play in which the pupil plays him/herself and the interlocutor one or more foreign speakers. In both the classwork and the final oral test, the report states: "It is considered to be of prime importance that candidates should be able to take part in conversations involving the exchange of information, whether this be in a personal, social or a more transactional-tourist context and that they should be able to respect the basic social conventions that these situations involve." It is hoped, therefore, that the test conversation will mirror, as closely as possible, a natural real-life conversation.

2. The research project

This paper will present some of the findings of a modern languages research project currently being carried out in the Education Department of the University of Stirling. The project, funded by the Scottish Education Department and running from November 1984 to October 1987, is entitled "The School-based assessment of Communicative Foreign-language Skills in Secondary Classes 3 and 4". Its main aims are (i) to develop a set of criteria for the assessment of pupils' communicative performance; (ii) to develop guidelines for the consistent administration by teachers of oral interview tasks, and (iii) to study the place of formative assessment in 'communicative' instructional strategies at intermediate level. The research strategy involves a series of small-scale action research studies involving collaboration between the research team and teacher of French, German and Spanish in S3 and S4 classes (ie. 14-16-year-old pupils) in secondary schools in central Scotland.

The framework of foreign language communicative competence used by the research team is that proposed by Canale (1983), a further development of the one first put forward by Canale and Swain (1980). Canale identifies four major components of communicative competence: (1) grammatical competence (including phonology, orthography, vocabulary, word and sentence formation); (2) sociolinguistic competence (expression and understanding of social meanings appropriate to different sociolinguistic contexts, and of grammatical forms appropriate for their expression); (3) discourse competence (knowledge of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified text); (4) strategic competence (ways of coping with grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and performance difficulties). These four dimensions have been taken by the research team as a basis for developing an instrument which can be used for the analysis of pupil performance. This paper will concentrate mainly on pupil discourse competence.

3. Equality and independent thinking in the oral tests

It has been stated that the final proficiency oral test aims to test the pupil's ability to use "real language" in "real-life situations". It is for this reason that role-play has been chosen as the test context. The fact that testees keep their own identities while testers adopt new ones idicates an attempt to make it appear that both partners take on an equal role during the test conversation. Indeed, it is quite clearly stated in the recommended Grade-Related Criteria that the testee be judged on his skills not only as a responder but as an initiator. By initiation is meant the changing or controlling of the direction of the conversation, as opposed to merely responding to questions or comments put by the interlocutor. For the purposes of the present paper, instances of pupil initiation during the oral test will be taken as indications of 'independent thinking'. 'Equality' will refer to the balance (or lack thereof) between the parts played by each conversation participant during the test role-play.

4. The study - Part 1

The remainder of this paper will present some of the findings of one of the small-scale action research studies undertaken during the course of the project. When the study began, the focus was on test design. At the point when the researchers joined the foreign languages department of one school (December 1984), the teachers were in the process of adapting the role-play test of the previous year (December 1983) for use in the imminent end-of-term French oral examination. The role-play situation was to remain the same (a cafe in Brittany) but the rather open conversation, consisting of a series of suggestions for the pupils, was to be replaced by a set of five specific tasks (see Table 1). The reasons given by the teachers for the change were that, although the test went well the year before, they feared that this year's pupils would not manage it as well. Also, both pupils and teachers would welcome more guidelines in the test. Two teachers who had S3 classes (third year secondary) agreed to record their tests on one of the testing days in order that pupil performance in the new more structured test be analysed. In December 1984, recordings were made of 10 pupils (six with Teacher A and four with Teacher B).

4.1. Teacher interviews

Teachers were interviewed after the tests using a semi-structured interview in order to register their impressions of the more structured 1984 test compared with the more open test of the previous year. Both teachers were in agreement that the more structured test had not gone as well as they had hoped (they used words such as "limited", "uninteresting" and "flat"). It had seemed far less like a "normal conversation" compared with the 1983 test; there had been an awkwardness and lack of flow as pupils moved rigidly from one utterance to another. The teachers also pointed out that one of the greatest problems had been to make pupils use their imaginations and to take the initiative. This, they explained, had been the reason for their having wanted to revert to a more structured test; yet, in this case at least, the test had not helped.

Table 1. The role-paly situations in the French oral examination

A. More 'open' test (December 1983)

Your teacher is a French friend whom you meet
while on holiday at the sea-side in Brittany.
You go to a cafe together. Talk French together.

Greet her.
Ask how she is, if she likes the place.
Call the waiter. Order a drink for yourself.
Ask your friend if she wants an ice-cream or
a pancake.
Order whatever she wants.
Ask what activities she does during the day and
in the evening.
Say what YOU do.
Comment on the weather.
Suggest something you could do together later.
Arrange a time and a place to meet.

These are suggestions only. You may wish to add,
or ask for more information.

B. More "structured" test (December 1984)

Your teacher will play the part of a young
French girl whom you have met while on
holiday in Brittany,
You go to a cafe together and talk French
with one another.

Suggest going to a cafe.
Ask if she would like an icecream or pancake.
Ask what she does during the day and evening.
Suggest something you could do together.
Arrange a time and place to meet.

You should give and ask for information to complete
the tasks below.

4.2. Another batch of tests

It was agreed to give the same pupils the more open test to see if (a) they could cope with it after all, and (b) to see if it led to any improvement in their performance. This was done after a period of two months had elapsed (February/March 1985). The results were analysed and, for the purposes of the present paper, we shall be looking at areas which concern the pupils' ability to take charge of at least parts of the conversation.

4.3. The results

Table 2 shows instances of pupils asking questions in both the more open and then the more structured oral test. It can be seen that there is in fact very little significant difference between pupil performance in this area in the two tests. This was the case with the tests of both Teacher A and Teacher B. Eight out of the ten pupils asked almost the same number of questions, one pupil (Pupil 6) asked significantly more, another (Pupil 5) asked significantly fewer. It would appear that, in this instance at least, the 'opening up' of the test did little to increase pupil willingness or ability to pose questions in the foreign language.

Table 3 relates to certain areas of the discourse: number of topics covered in the test conversation, control of topics, instances of pupil initiation and pupil speech turns (instances of pupil speech turns which consist only of "yes" or "no", or of a non-lexical utterance, eg. "eh" are also shown). In the case of Teacher A it can be seen that there was a slight increase in the number of topics covered in the test conversation in the more open oral test. There was also a slight increase in the number of topics opened or introduced by the pupils. Indeed, in this more open test, pupils opened a higher proportion of the topics, showing that they could be encouraged to take a more directive part in the conversation. There was also an increase in instances of pupil initiation (in some cases quite a big increase with Pupil 3 moving from 6 to 12 and Pupil 4 going from 15 to 22). This could perhaps be explained to some extent by the increase in the length of test dialogue (the number of pupil speech turns is higher in every case) but, nevertheless, the test did show an increase in instances of pupil initiation, which, according to the criteria, is an improvement in

Table 2. Instances of pupil questions in oral test (French)

PUPIL (Teacher A)	December 1984 (structured test) Inversion	Intonation	Question Word	Interrogative Structure	Combination of any of the former	TOTAL	March 1984 (open test) Inversion	Intonation	Question Word	Interrogative Structure	Compination of any of the former	TOTAL
1.		5	1		1	7		5		1	1	7
2.		6	1		2	9		6		1	1	8
3.		6			1	7		5	1		1	7
4.		10	2		1	13		9			3	13
5.		3	1		1	5		1		1		1
6.		6	1		1	8		11	1		1	13
(Teacher B)												
7.		3	1		1	5		4			1	5
8.		3			2	5		3			1	4
9.		4	2		2	8		5	1		1	7
10.		5			1	6		3	1	1	1	6

Table 3. Pupil discourse competence in oral tests (French)

PUPIL	December 1984 (structured oral test)							March 1985 (more open oral test)						
	Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupil	No. of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical pupil speech turns	Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupil	No. of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical pupil speech turns
(Teacher A)														
1.	4	5	1	5	27	5	-	4	5	4	11	33	6	2
2.	4	4	3	10	22	3	-	5	7	5	10	31	6	1
3.	3	5	2	6	17	3	-	4	5	3	12	29	4	-
4.	5	9	5	15	37	4	-	6	7	6	22	49	4	-
5.	3	3	3	6	23	6	-	6	9	3	7	45	16	-
6.	4	6	4	11	22	6	-	4	6	5	12	53	8	-
(Teacher B)														
7.	3	3	2	5	18	2	1	7	7	3	8	45	3	1
8.	3	3	3	5	21	-	-	8	9	5	6	44	4	-
9.	3	3	3	7	20	3	1	8	11	6	10	54	5	3
10.	3	3	3	5	16	1	1	6	10	5	11	38	3	-

pupil performance. The number of "yes" or "no" speech turns was slightly higher (expept in the case of Pupil 5, who got into difficulties) in the more open test. However, the number relative to the total number of pupil speech turns was not as high, showing that the opening up of the test need not necessarily lead to an increase in monosyllabic utterances on the part of the pupil.

In the case of pupil performance in the tests conducted by Teacher B, the changes were more marked. This teacher had taken a very rigid line in the more structured test, hurrying pupils through the bare minimum. The dialogues had tended to be shorter than those of Teacher A, in particular the range of topics covered was more limited. There were fewer pupil initiations, although the amount was quite high for the length of test. The effect of the more open test on this teacher and her pupils was a marked increase in the number of topics covered, although the ratio of topics opened by pupils was not as high as with Teacher A. Nevertheless pupils were opening about half the topics in the dialogue, which can certainly be considered a form of 'equality'. The instances of pupil initiation has also increased, although again not proportionate to the large increase in speech turns. The number of pupil "yes" or "no" speech turns is again up, although here it is in proportion to the increase in pupil speech turns. Again, with Teacher B, the opening up of the dialogue has not lead to an increase in pupil monosyllabic responses.

In conclusion it can be stated that, despite the limitations of the test task, there was nevertheless an increase in the number and range of topics and also a higher number of instances of pupil initiation. Pupils had shown themselves capable of introducing topics and introducing ideas of their own; they were learning to take a more "equal" share of the test conversation and showing signs of being able to think for themselves.

4.4. Pupil interviews

The pupils were all interviewed individually immediately after the February/March tests using a semi-structured interview, in order to record any views they may have on the two tests. Pupil responses were very varied and showed no clear pattern. This was the first time these pupils had attempted a more open test and in terms, for example, of level of difficulty descriptions ranged from "hard" to "easy". As to whether they preferred the former more structured test or the recent more open tests (such descriptors were not given to the pupils), views ranged from being much happier with set tasks to preferring "having a go" and "trying to keep the conversation going". Most of the pupils were unsure as to whether they had managed to bring in ideas of their own or not. It would appear that pupils needed to have more practice and a familiarity with both types of test before being able to make judgements or draw comparisions.

4.5. Teacher interviews

The teachers declared themselves to be happier with the more open test. They felt it was nearer to a natural conversation and flowed better. They admitted that it showed that the pupils were capable of more than they had realized (they had, after all, designed the more structured test because they felt these pupils could not manage this one). The conclusion on the part of these teachers was that a more open test task with optional suggestions was preferable to one with set tasks.

5. The study - Part Two

Nevertheless, the teachers were of the opinion that improvements could still be made. There were still occasions during the February/March open tests when they felt they were directing the conversation and the choice of topics when the pupils could well be doing so. If the pupils were to be scored on their skills at initiating, then it was vital that they be given space to do so as much as possible.

It was decided to continue the study during the following school year (1985-86) in order to see if further improvements could be made in pupil ability to take an equal share of the conversation and to introduce their own ideas. Teachers very much wanted to keep to the more open test with its optional suggestions as they felt this test had shown more potential in giving results in the area of pupil initiation. The modern languages department therefore decided to make the December 1985 test an open one. They agreed that the research team should work with two different teachers (Teachers C and D) and also, this time, with two languages (French and German). The pupils would be different as the study was working with S3 and a new school year had begun. All the end-of-term oral tests in two S3 classes were to be recorded and 10 in each chosen at random for analysis thus doubling the number of tests analysed.

It was agreed to introduce into the test task explicit instructions to the pupil that he/she ask questions and take charge of the conversation at least part of the time. The precise wording was: "These are suggestions only. You will gain a better mark if you are prepared to ask questions and direct the conversation yourself. Try to take charge of the conversation at least some of the time and do not simply answer questions".

The instructions and the role-play situation with its optional suggestions were given to the students a few days in advance to prepare (for the French test, the conversation was situated on a beach, for the German it was situated in a shop). As usual, the pupils were to play themselves, the teacher a French/German teenager. The tests were carried out and recorded in December 1985. Teachers were interviewed individually after the tests, using a semi-structured interview.

5.1. Teacher interviews

Both teachers declared themselves very encouraged by the pupils efforts but they too commented that they had talked too much during the test dialogue. Pupils were initiating but teacher nevertheless found themselves asking questions and making comments to keep the conversation going. Their listening to the recordings of the tests confirmed them in the view that they should perhaps hold back more and not be concerned about silences developing.

5.2. Another batch of tests

The teachers suggested conducting another test using the same pupils. This time, care was to be taken to ensure that pupils had a clear idea as to what was expected of them. This was to be achieved by not only the writing of explicit instructions into the test (as in December 1985) but by the teacher monitoring her verbal instructions to the pupils. In addition, teachers agreed to make a deliberate effort to hold back during the test conversation, ie. not to pick up pupil points and take over but to sit back and allow the pupils to elaborate.

The teachers prepared the pupils by explaining that they were going to play the part of a very taciturn person whom the pupils were trying to engage in conversation. Again the test task (with situation, suggestions and instructions) was given to the pupils a few days in advance (the role-play situation in both tests was identical, set in a train). The new batch of tests was recorded in March 1986 and analyses have been done on 10 of each class. Again, the focus of the analysis was upon instances of pupil questioning and also upon areas of discourse (eg. topic control, pupil initiation), the aim again being to consider the part played by the pupil in the test conversation.

5.3. The results

Table 4 shows instances of pupil questions in the French oral test, Table 5 instances of pupil questions in the German oral test. In both cases there is a marked increase on the part of most pupils, suggesting that it helped not only to include the instructions in the test task but also to point this out clearly to the pupil in verbal instructions. The teacher holding back from asking questions herself may also have been a factor. (It is interesting to note the differences in question formation in the two languages, but that is not the concern of this paper).

More significant, however, are the changes in the discourse pattern (see Tables 6 and 7). The number of topics moved away from the uniform pattern of the December 1985 tests (especially in the French tests) and instances of pupil opening of topics was proportionately far higher in both language. There was also a significant rise in instances of pupil initiation, giving some of the highest numbers of instances incountered during this research project.

It is interesting to note that in the majority of the interviews there was a marked drop in the number of speech turns. This was because the pupils took advantage of their 'equal' right to bring the test dialogue to a conclusion when they had had enough. There was a considerable drop in the number of "yes" and "no" speech in both languages, especially in the French test, suggesting that the teachers were successful in modifying their behaviour and avoiding asking a series of questions.

Table 4. Instances of pupil questions in oral tests (French)

Pupil	December 1985 (pupil initiation encouraged)						March 1986 (pupil-initiation stressed)					
	Inversion	Intonation	Question Word	Interrogative Structure	Combination of any of the former	TOTAL	Inversion	Intonation	Question Word	Interrogative Structure	Combination of any of the former	TOTAL
1.		8	1			9		5			5	10
2.		2				2		5	2		6	13
3.		4	1		4	9		6			8	15
4.		3				3		4			3	7
5.		2			2	4	1	10			5	16
6.		6			1	7		6			7	13
7.		6			3	9		4		2	5	11
8.		1			2	3		3			7	10
9.		1				1		3			2	5
10.		2				2		5			3	8

Table 5. Instances of pupil questions in oral tests (German)

	December 1985 (pupil initiation encouraged)						March 1986 (pupil initiation stressed)					
Pupil	Inversion	Intonation	Question word	Interrogative Structure	Compination of any of the former	TOTAL	Inversion	Intonation	Question word	Interrogative Structure	Combination of any of the former	TOTAL
1.					2	2	1	1			7	9
2.	3				3	6	5	3	1		2	11
3.					1	1	3				4	7
4.	7		1		3	11	6				5	11
5.	2	1			2	5	3	3			9	15
6.					-	0	3	1			6	10
7.		3			1	4	4				10	14
8.	2				1	3	5	2			6	13
9.	1				-	1	5	3			9	17
10.	1	2			3	6	5	2			11	19

Table 6. Pupil discourse competence in oral tests (French)

Pupil	December 1985 (pupil initiation encouraged): Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupils	No of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical speech turns	March 1986 (pupil initiation stressed): Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupils	No of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical speech turns
1.	4	4	1	4	32	4	4	4	4	4	17	20	1	1
2.	4	6	1	3	37	18	-	5	5	5	20	25	1	1
3.	4	8	6	10	35	1	1	5	6	6	22	29	-	-
4.	4	6	0	3	37	18	1	3	3	3	17	26	3	-
5.	4	6	2	6	34	8	3	7	8	7	27	46	5	2
6.	4	5	2	5	29	9	-	3	3	3	17	16	-	1
7.	4	4	2	7	26	7	-	4	4	4	13	17	-	-
8.	4	4	2	3	23	3	-	5	6	3	19	33	-	3
9.	4	4	1	2	23	4	2	3	3	2	5	11	-	1
10.	4	4	0	2	34	16	-	4	4	4	10	13	-	1

Table 7. Pupil discourse competence in oral tests (German)

Pupil	December 1985 (pupil initiation encouraged)							March 1986 (pupil initiation stressed)						
	Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupil	No. of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical pupil speech turns	Total number of topics	No. of times topics opened	No. of times topics opened by pupils	No. of instances of pupil initiation	No. of pupil speech turns	No. of "yes/no" pupil speech turns	No. of non-lexical pupil speech turns
1.	4	6	3	2	33	5	-	3	3	3	9	18	2	-
2.	6	6	2	6	59	9	4	4	5	5	8	36	1	-
3.	3	3	1	1	34	9	2	5	6	4	11	26	3	-
4.	4	7	3	9	49	15	-	4	7	4	22	46	5	4
5.	3	6	1	9	52	8	-	5	5	5	22	50	-	-
6.	4	4	1	-	26	11	-	2	2	2	7	19	3	-
7.	4	6	1	4	42	13	1	4	4	4	24	40	9	-
8.	5	5	-	2	39	11	1	6	6	4	18	36	-	2
9.	3	4	1	4	44	15	2	9	12	7	27	76	15	4
10.	5	7	1	6	48	14	1	8	11	8	26	47	5	1

5.4. Post-test interviews

In the interviews after the March tests, the pupils showed that they had a high level of awareness of what had been expected of them, ie. they were to try to take charge of the conversation and ask questions themselves. The teachers declared themselves well pleased with the results. As far as they were concerned, pupils had proved that they could play a very active and directive role in the test conversation. They commented that the dialogue had perhaps lost a little in authenticity, in that they, the teachers, had held back more than they would have done in a natural situation of conversation. They thought that that was a small price to pay in the light of the pupil performance.

6. Conclusion

The present study set out to consider pupil performance in relation to test task and Part 1 resulted in the teachers in the school in question coming to a definite conclusion as to the test task they found most suitable. They found that the more open test with optional suggestions gave pupils a better opportunity to initiate, ask questions, introduce topics or, in the terms of the present paper, to take an 'equal' share of conversation direction and show signs of 'independent thinking'.

However, when this type of test was tried out the following year with different teachers, it was discovered that there were factors to consider other than test task. Two that were focussed on in Part II of the study, were pupil perception of the task and teacher/interlocutor behaviour. When these were monitored and influenced, results were vastly improved in terms of pupils playing an active part in the conversation and introducing ideas of their own. Whereas it must be recognised that tester and testee can never in reality have 'equal' roles in a test dialogue and that pupils will also to a certain extent be limited by the test task especially at this level (the French pupils were in their third year of French, the German pupils their second year), it has been encouraging to observe pupils improving their performance in terms of one aspect of the criteria by which they are to be judged.

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TESTING PRONUNCIATION

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ABSTRACT

Pronunciation is regarded as a valuable subskill in foreign language teaching and testing. Its quality is commonly assessed in a global way by having testees read aloud. A more systematical and transparent approach to evaluation is proposed. The reliability of the experimental approach is compared with the reliability of a traditional rating procedure. In a second study the external validity of the experimental approach is determined.

1. Introduction

There are good reasons for not neglecting pronunciation as an important subskill in foreign language teaching and testing. First of all, with a good pronunciation one can make oneself better understood. It gives one's oral production a certain redundancy and this can help a speaker to get his message across more easily. Secondly, pronunciation is quite attractive as a learning objective because of its high pay-off. The number of sounds, sound clusters and intonation patterns in a language is finite, just like the alphabet. Once the system has been mastered it can be applied in one's future performance, thus giving it fundamentally an infinite scope.

Thirdly, a deviant pronunciation means that one is immediately 'marked' abroad. A 'foreign accent' is often used as the means to distinguish non-natives from native speakers. There can be some discussion about the proposal that foreigners should cherish their rôle as non-natives. However, one can think of learners who would prefer a native-like pronunciation, for example those with a particularly strong integrative motivation, and one can imagine situations in which one wishes to avoid immediate identification as a foreigner.

If pronunciation is worth teaching, it is worth evaluating. For this evaluation one needs a speech sample of the testee. This can be obtained by involving him in a more or less spontaneous conversation or by asking him questions about a text he has read before, about his hobbies, his plans for the future, etc. However, it is difficult to seperate pronunciation from other aspects of the testee's oral production, such as fluency, vocabulary, and grammatical accuracy, and judge it independently (Clark and Swinton 1980).

If the testing focus is on pronunciation, it is a common practice to have the testee read aloud a few lines or paragraphs of a written text. The advantage of this procedure is that one can obtain comparable speech samples from different testees. It cannot be denied, however, that this elicitation procedure evokes an unknown variable: the ability to read aloud. The impact of this variable is unclear. As far as we know, no relevant research has been carried out in order to determine its effect. It could cause severe problems with testees who are to some extent dyslectic.

Nevertheless, reading aloud is very common in language teaching and usually testees are familiar with it. Moreover, we cannot neglect the advantage of obtaining comparable speech samples. Having them collected is necessary in order to determine the quality of testing procedures.

Normally, rating is done by giving the testee a mark for the overall impression of his pronunciation. Rating can be based on a four-, five- or six-point-scale. Every point on the scale is defined by a description of one or two prominent characteristics of the testee's performance, like 'occasional phonemic errors, but generally comprehensible' or 'many phonemic errors: very difficult to perceive meaning' (Clark 1972:93). The selection of a certain mark or scale point can be both supported and motivated by a written record made during the testee's performance in which pronunciation errors are successively noted down. The accountability and transparency of such a rating procedure can be improved by working out such records in a systematical way and by letting the final mark depend on it entirely. Furthermore, a systematic and complete record can be used for diagnostic purposes. Weak points in a testee's pronunciation can be subjected to subsequent training. Proposals for setting up such records are found in several testing guidelines (eg. Harris 1969:86-87, Heaton 1979:84-86, and Madsen 1983:66-68). These procedures have in common that in a running text or in a list of unconnected sentences possible pronunciation problems, including stress and intonation problems, are marked; for example (Harris 1969:86).

While Mr. Brown read his newspaper,	primary stress
his wife finished packing his clothes	voiced final consonant(s)

for the trip. The suitcase was al-	
ready quite full, and she was having	vowel quality
a great deal of difficulty finding	primary stress

An unmarked version of the test is read aloud by the testee and the tester ticks off the places where an error is made.

2. Statement of the problem

We decided to examine the reliability of a rating procedure for the evaluation of pronunciation by which only marked elements in a text read aloud are judged in a rather straightforward way: the realization of each element could be judged either as correct or as incorrect. The reliability of this procedure was to be compared with the reliability of the common practice when an overall impression mark is given for the quality of the testee's pronunciation after reading a text aloud. We will call the first, the experimental method, 'atomistic' and the second, the traditional method, 'holistic'.

2.1. The Pretest

First of all, an inventory was made of common pronunciation errors in German and French as spoken by Dutch people. Such inventories can be extracted from several textbooks for the teaching of the pronunciation of German and French. Two texts were selected and adapted slightly. On an average, every 5th or 6th word (German) and every 8th or 9th word (French) contained a pronunciation problem. The German text was read aloud by 10 adults, the French text by 14. All testees had learned the respective foreign language in the secondary school. The testees' tape recordings were marked by a panel of fully qualified teachers, 7 for both German and French, after a short instruction. The tape recordings were presented only once, without stops or replays. The raters were to mark the separate items on a rating sheet of the type that was outlined above. Only incorrect realizations of elements in the texts were marked, so that for each testee and rater the number of pronunciation errors could be calculated

However, unmarked items are ambiguous with regard to their interpretation. An unmarked item can mean two things:

(1) no pronunciation error has been made; or

(2) a pronunciation error has not been registered.

Items that are hardly marked by the raters at all are of no interest. The testees' pronunciation is either correct or errors are not evident enough. Such items are superfluous if the testees are to be discriminated on the basis of the quality of their pronunciation. Items that are marked as incorrect to a substantial extent are more important in this respect.

For a good item, ie. an item with a certain discriminative power, registration of errors is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition. It is also necessary that a vast majority of raters should react in the same way on the same item and the same testee. Ideally, every rater should mark an item as incorrect each time that it is realized incorrectly and do nothing if it is realized in a correct way. In that case the procedure is absolutely reliable. However, as a rule absolute reliability cannot be attained. Factors such as lack of power of perception or flagging concentration among the raters will prevent this. Nevertheless a certain minimal requirement of reliability must be met if the rating procedure is to be worthwhile.

In order to select successful items for the testing procedure under investigation we set the following conditions:

(1) the majority of raters (5 out of 7) should register an error made by a certain testee on a specific item;

(2) the raters should show a certain measure of agreement in their ratings of all the testees on a particular item. A minimum value of .70 for an interrater reliability coefficient was set.

(As an index for agreement we used percentage of agreement uncorrected for chance.) About 30% of the German and French items met both criteria.

There are reasons to believe that there is some systematic difference between successful and unsuccessful items. In general, successful items do not allow grades of correctness in their realization. They are either realized correctly of incorrectly but not 'more or less' correctly. For example, the realization of   is either correct or incorrect, whereas a vowel can be more or less diphthongized or nasalized. Here tolerance can vary among raters. In the same way the aspiration of a unvoiced plosive can be more or less pronounced. There is no clear cut-off point.

Both tests were revised; the main difference between the resulting German and the French test was that the first was revised in a strictly mechanical way: only pronunciation problems represented by items that passed the pretest were selected, whereas the French test was adjusted with the help of the actual tape recordings. Almost all the original pronunciation problems were preserved in the definitive version.

2.2. Test and analysis of data

For the trial of the definitive tests new tape recordings were made. The text was read aloud by pupils in secondary schools who had learned German for 2-4 years and French for 3-5 years.

There were 26 testees and 24 items for German and 19 testees and 40 items for French. The tape recordings were rated by 14 fully qualified teachers of German and 15 fully qualified teachers of French, again after a short instruction. The rating procedure was carried out in the same way as in the pretest.

The purpose of the data analysis was to estimate the reliability of this proposed atomistic procedure. Reliability can be expressed in a coefficient between 1 and 0; 1 means that the test measures the differences between the testees in a very systematical, perfect way: there is complete agreement among raters. Every item puts the testees in the same rank order from higher to lower ability. 0 means that the test is completely unreliable, that there is no systematical variance at all.

The following reliability coefficients were found, using generalizability theory (Bolus et al. 1982, Brennan 1983).

	French	German
1 rater/	.86	.52
2 raters	.92	.62

2.3. Setting a criterion

So far we have only compared the results of the French and German experimental tests. It would be helpful to know if the new procedure would entail an improvement of traditional practice. In order to answer this question the tape recordings were played once more and the raters were asked to give the testees a traditional impression mark on a twenty-point scale (that is: the ten-point scale with half points as is commonly used in the Netherlands). This time, the following generalizability coefficients were found:

	French	German
1 rater/	.79	.62
2 raters	.88	.76

A comparison of these figures with those of the atomistic tests shows that the French test is superior to holistic rating and that the German test is not.

2.4. Preliminary conclusions and discussion

There seems to be a chance that traditional practice in the testing of pronunciation can be improved if an atomistic test is used. Such a test can further the transparency and accountability of the evaluational procedure. It should consist of about 40 items and be designed on the basis of recorded performances. With an inventory of pronunciation problems as a starting point one should try to find regular pitfalls in a text as it is spoken.

In this study we focussed on the reliability of a rating procedure that tried to make the evaluation of pronunciation more explicit and transparent.

It should be stressed, however, that there could be factors involved in a holistic rating that are not covered by the atomistic testing procedure, such as prosody, liveliness, and overall articulation. Therefore we decided to carry out further research into the validity of the procedure. And, last but not least: the validity of evaluating pronunciation on the basis of a text that is read aloud has not been determined yet.

3. Validity study

In order to determine the validity of the atomistic procedure, a new experiment has been set up for French. In this experiment we tried to simulate the regular procedure of a teacher evaluating the pronunciation of his or her own pupils. One can conceive of three different ways of judging pronunciation in such a 'natural' setting:

(1) by holistic rating of spontaneous speech;
(2) by holistic rating of a read aloud text; or
(3) by atomistic scoring of a read aloud text.

elicitation procedure rating procedure	spontaneous speech	reading aloud
holistic	1	2
atomistic	▨	3

The rating of spontaneous speech is considered most valid for there is no interference with a testee's ability to read aloud. If there is a fairly strong positive correlation between the outcomes of an atomistic scoring of reading aloud and a holistic rating of spontaneous speech, then the experimental method should be considered valid as well. If the correlation between holistic rating of spontaneous speech, on the one hand, and holistic rating of reading aloud, on the other, is sufficiently high, then the assumption that reading aloud and spontaneous speech will yield a different quality of pronunciation is falsified, at least for our target group, pupils in secondary education one year before their final examination.

3.1. Design

The experiment was set up in such a way that 5 teachers of French each had to evaluate the pronunciation of 10 of their own pupils. The pupils' voices were tape-recorded. First, the teachers listened to 10 testees reading a text aloud. They had to note down a global impression mark for each testee's quality of pronunciation. Then, they had to judge the same testees reading the same text according to the experimental atomistic method. Next they heard samples of French spoken spontaneously by the testees. They were, however, put in a different sequence in order to reduce a possible recall effect.

Samples of spontaneous speech were elicited by rô le-playing. The testee was involved in a situational dialogue with a real native speaker, playing the part of a foreign acquaintance who could provide a holiday job or a police officer who had to cope with the problems of a stolen bicycle.

Again they were asked to note down a global impression mark. In order to assess the reliability of the concurrent procedures the complete cycle had to be repeated with the same teachers and the same testees but with another text and another sample of spontaneous speech. This is a rather strong form of reliability assessment. It is estimated by comparing parallel testforms. The method was not restricted to a simple test-retest procedure with the same test.

The following reliability coefficients were found:

1	.73 < .84 < .91
2	.65 < .79 < .88
3	.75

(KR 20)

From these results it follows that the three test formats are approximately equivalent if we take the usual 95% confidence limits into account.

Holistic rating as well as atomistic scoring are proved to be quite reliable. Now, if there is a fairly strong positive correlation between both procedures, then atomistic scoring and holistic rating measure the same variable. The following correlation coefficients were found (again with 95% confidence limits):

	2	3
1	.72 < .84 < .90	.27 < .51 < .70
2		.36 < .58 < .74

The correlations between holistic rating and atomistic scoring are only moderate, whereas the correlation between holistic rating of spontaneous speech and reading aloud is quite high.

3.2. Conclusion

On the basis of this validity study the following conclusions can be drawn. In the upper forms of secondary school one can give value judgements for pronunciation by having the testees read aloud a text, as well as on the basis of a sample of spontaneous speech. Furthermore, atomistic scoring is not a very good alternative for holistic rating. It cannot predict a general impression of the quality of a testee's pronunciation. Besides segmental features and stress or intonation patterns there must be one or two other relevant factors in it that determine the quality of pronunciation.

Natural rhythm, liveliness, speaking rate? We do not know yet exactly what they are. Further research has to be carried out.

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